Henry W. Haynes.

[illegible]

Schmitz and Zumpt's Classical Series—Continued.

From PROF. JOHN WILSON, *Prep. Dep. Dickinson College, Carlisle, Dec.* 8, 1848.

I have examined the three volumes with considerable care, and can give them my unqualified approbation. The plan is judicious, and the execution worthy of all praise. The notes comprise all that a student needs, and all that he should have; and their position at the foot of the page is just what it should be.

From PROF. E. E. WILEY, *Emory and Henry College, Va., Nov.* 30, 1848.

From the cursory examination given them, I must say that I have been highly gratified. Such a series as you propose giving to the public, is certainly a great desideratum. Our classical text-books have heretofore been rendered entirely too expensive, by the costly dresses in which they have appeared, and by the extensive display of notes appended; many of which, though learned, are of little worth to the student in elucidating the text. It will afford me pleasure to introduce into my department such books of your series as may be in our course.

From S. H. TAYLOR, ESQ., *Andover, Mass., Oct.* 30, 1848.

The notes seem to me very accurate, and are not so numerous as to do for the student what he ought to do for himself. I can with safety, therefore, recommend it to my pupils.

From PROF. M. M. CAMPBELL, *Principal of the Grammar School, Indiana University, Nov.* 6, 1848.

I like the plan of your series. I feel sure it will succeed, and thus displace some of the learned lumber of our schools. The notes, short, plain, and apposite, are placed where they ought to be, and furnish the learner just about help enough.

From PHILIP LINDSLEY, D. D., *Pres. of the University of Nashville, Nov.* 27, 1848.

The classical series, edited by Drs. Schmitz and Zumpt, has already acquired a high and well-merited reputation on both sides of the Atlantic. I have carefully examined your editions of Cæsar and Virgil. I think them admirable text-books for schools, and preferable to all others. I shall avail myself of every suitable occasion to recommend them.

From B. SANFORD, ESQ., *Bridgewater, Mass, Jan.* 17, 1849.

I have examined, with considerable care, both the Cæsar and the Virgil, and am much pleased with the plan and execution of the series thus far. I am particularly gratified with the propriety and judgment displayed by the editors in the preparation of the notes; avoiding, as I think, the prolixity and profuseness of some of our classical works, and, at the same time, the barrenness and deficiency of others; giving a body of annotations better suited to aid the teacher in imparting a knowledge of the language, than is to be found in any edition heretofore in use.

From PROF. STURGESS, *Hanover College, Indiana, Dec.* 30, 1848.

The mere name of the editors is a sufficient and most ample guarantee of the accuracy of the text, the judicious choice of various readings, and the conformity of those adopted to the latest investigations of MSS., and the results of the most enlightened criticism. The notes I have not examined very carefully, except those of the Virgil. They are admirable, extremely condensed, and conveying a great deal of most valuable criticism in the briefest possible way. They are particularly valuable for their æsthetical remarks, and the frequent references to parallel passages in the same author. The preliminary life is excellent, and of great value to the student. The Sallust appears to be of the same neral character, and the notes to furnish just such help as the diligent student really needs. I think that in bringing out such a course at a cheap rate you are conferring a great boon on the country, and additional honour on your press, already so distinguished for the *value* of its issues.

From REV. ROBT. ALLYN, *Providence Conference Seminary, R. I., Dec.* 25, 1848.

I am much pleased with the general character of these works. The text in its general character is highly satisfactory, the notes are really illustrative, and admirably calculated to assist the student in acquiring a knowledge of the matter in the text, the manners and customs of the times, and the history and characters of the actors in the scenes. The typography and external appearance of the works are such as please the eye and improve the taste. You certainly deserve encouragement, and we shall do what lies in our power to extend the circulation of the works.

Schmitz and Zumpt's Classical Series—Continued.

From PROF. A. S. PACKARD, *Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me., March* 8, 1849.

I cannot refrain longer from communicating to you the highly favourable impression which they have made upon me. I see nothing to desire in the general style of these editions. I know of no others, which for neatness and cheapness, and sufficient helps for the student, surpass them. I am exceedingly pleased with the good taste, clear and precise statements, and sound scholarship, which distinguish the notes. As school classics, I regard them as models.

From PROF. J. FORSYTH, Jr. *College of N. J., Princeton, Feb.* 7, 1849.

I am happy to say that in my judgment the testimonials to the excellence of the series that you have already received are fully deserved. The cheapness and convenient form of these volumes, and especially the character of the notes, make them precisely the kind of text book which I should put into the hand of the young classical student. I shall recommend the students of this college to procure your edition of such of the Latin authors as we are accustomed to read. You have my best wishes for your success in your praiseworthy enterprise.

From PROF. M. L. STOEVER, *Penn. College, Gettysburg, Pa., Jan.* , 1849.

The accuracy of the text, and the judiciousness of the notes, as well as the cheapness of the volumes, render this edition of the classics most deserving of public attention.

From N. BISHOP, ESQ., *Supt. of Public Schools, and Principal of High School, Providence, R. I., Nov.* 29, 1848.

I have had the honour of receiving the three first volumes of your "Classical Series." I am much pleased with the *size* of the books, and their *cheapness*; the *correctness* of the text, and the *character* of the notes. I mean, of course, the comparative correctness of the text, as perfect accuracy is rarely attained among us, even in our own language, much less in that of others. I shall take pleasure in recommending your "Classical Series" to all the schools in the vicinity of this city, and shall introduce them into the Classical Departments of our High School at the earliest opportunity for changes in text-books.

From PROF. JOHN WHEELER, *Asbury University, Greencastle, Ia., Dec.* 8, 1848.

As far as I have examined, I am well pleased with them. The notes appear to be what they ought, explanations of difficult passages, and not extended translations, so common and so detrimental to classical attainment. The modest remarks of the editors on disputed passages are worthy of notice and imitation. In these remarks, I refer principally to the edition of Virgil, which I have examined more than the others, and which I consider far superior to any other edition extant in our country. The cheapness of the series is a valuable consideration; and the publishers deserve and doubtless will receive a harvest of thanks from many a student whose intellect and desire of knowledge are superior to his purse.

From A. CAMPBELL, *President of Bethany College, Va., Nov.* 22, 1848.

I have just glanced, with much pleasure, over your edition of Virgil, being the second volume of Schmitz and Zumpt's Classical Series.

This is just the thing I have long desired to see—a neat, handsome, correct, and cheap edition of the Latin Classics, relieved from the extraneous and unwieldy lore of prosing doctors. The addenda or notes in the margin of this handsome volume are just such as the student needs. The series will doubtless meet with very general favour from all teachers and learners, because of its clear, accurate, and beautiful typography, its general good taste, its cheapness, and its judicious adaptation to the genius and wants of the age.

From CHARLES WHEELER, *Pres. of Rector College, Taylor C'y., Va., Dec.* 1, 1848.

The neatness and beauty, and, as far as I have examined, the correctness of execution, together with the lucid arrangement of the notes, must, I think, commend your editions to public patronage. I am delighted to see *Virgil*, my favourite poet, so handsomely executed. I have recommended your series to our students, as I esteem them worthy of a decided preference.

From CHRISTOPHER MORGAN, ESQ., *Deputy Superintendent of Common Schools, N. Y., Albany, Dec.* 20, 1848.

The volumes are very neatly executed. From the recommendation of gentlemen who have carefully examined them, as well as from a partial examination of my own, I cheerfully commend them to the public.

Schmitz and Zumpt's Classical Series—Continued.

From J. S. Bonsall, Esq., *Frederick College, Md., Feb.* 5, 1849.

I have examined them, and find them on all points what the reputation of the eminent editors led me to expect from them, and what they design the books to be.

I know not that I can give you a better proof of the estimation in which I hold them, than by simply saying that I am already using Cæsar and Virgil of the series in my classes, and expect very soon to introduce Sallust.

From Prof. N. L. Lindsley, *Cumberland University, Tenn., Nov.* 22, 1848.

I am very favourably impressed with the merits of Schmitz and Zumpt's classical series. So far as my engagements have permitted me to examine the "Virgil" and "Sallust," I am induced to believe that they are superior to the other editions in common use.

I shall take pleasure in recommending them to teachers and students in this vicinity.

From Prof. Gessner Harrison, *University of Virginia, Nov.* 3, 1848.

I very decidedly approve of the plan of publishing cheap editions of the classics, with brief notes, for the use of schools, and shall recommend this edition to my friends, as suitable for this object.

From Prof. W. S. Tyler, *Amherst College, Mass., Dec.* 25, 1848.

The notes are pertinent and pithy, as well as accurate and learned, and contrast to great advantage with some whose chief recommendation is, that they are designed to atone for the indolence of the student by the supererogatory works of the editor.

From John S. Hart, LL. D., *Central High School, Philadelphia, Dec.* 14, 1848.

I have examined, with much satisfaction, your editions of Virgil and Sallust, being continuations of your reprint of Schmitz and Zumpt's classical series, and take pleasure in renewing the recommendation which I gave to the plan of the series on the appearance of Cæsar. The notes are admirably adapted to the precise wants of the learner, giving in small space all the necessary facilities, without superseding the necessity of diligent and accurate study.

From C. W. Everest, Esq., *Rectory School, Hamden, Ct., Dec.* 7, 1848.

From the brief examination I have been able to give them, I feel very much pleased with them, both as regards the execution of your own part of the plan, and also that of your able editors. Such text-books are much needed. Instead of them, we have been inundated with editions, too often wretchedly printed, and more frequently ruined by a multiplicity of notes. Accept my thanks for your kindness in sending me the works, and be sure I shall be happy to adopt them as text-books in my school.

From Wm. B. Potts, *Orwigsburg, Pa., Nov.* 28, 1848.

I have devoted sufficient time to the examination of your editions of Cæsar, Virgil, and Sallust, to enable me to form an estimate of their respective merits. I do not hesitate to say that the uniformity and cheapness of the works, with the notes of the learned editors, sufficiently illustrative of the style and sentiments of the authors, and yet not so voluminous as to obviate the necessity of careful study on the part of the student, must recommend them to the favourable consideration of those engaged in teaching this interesting branch of literature. We shall certainly adopt this series in the academy.

From Wm. Garnett, Esq., *Norfolk, Va., Nov.* 20, 1848.

I return you my thanks for the copies of Virgil and Sallust sent to me. The professor of languages in the Norfolk academy has introduced them in this school, and we think they will be used in all schools, as soon as known to them. I shall recommend them to all the teachers of my acquaintance.

From Wm. Dennis, Esq., *Wilmington, Del., Nov.* 11, 1848.

I have received the Cæsar and Virgil of the classical series now in course of publication by you, and have for some time been using the Cæsar with a class. I am satisfied that these are better school editions of those authors than any others that I have ever seen.

IN PREPARATION.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE LATIN GRAMMAR.

BY PROFESSOR SCHMITZ.



I. Sinclair's lith. 101 Chesnut St. Phila.

H. W. Haynes. d HC

CLASSICAL SERIES.

EDITED BY DRS. SCHMITZ AND ZUMPT.

Q. CURTII RUFI

DE GESTIS

ALEXANDRI MAGNI,

REGIS MACEDONUM,

LIBRI QUI SUPERSUNT VIII

PHILADELPHIA:
LEA AND BLANCHARD.
1849.

PREFACE.

The present work of Q. Curtius Rufus has come down to us incomplete—the first two books, and some portions in the middle and near the end, being wanting in all the manuscripts. It would seem that the ancient copyist, who considered the first two books, containing the life and exploits of Alexander mainly after his entering Asia, to be less necessary or interesting, commenced transcribing at the third book, when Alexander having gained the victory on the Granicus, had already obtained a firm footing in Asia, and was entering upon his successful career, conquering countries which had never before been the scene of Greek military enterprise. The other gaps in the work have been filled up in modern editions, as in the present, by the supplements of the learned Freinsheim; so that the history of Alexander is continued uninterruptedly down to the point to which Curtius intended to carry it—namely, to the establishment of a regency after the death of the conqueror. The fact that the same gaps occur in all manuscripts, justifies the inference, that the manuscripts known to exist, and the number of which is eighteen, are derived from one and the same, which has thus become the mother-codex for all the others. The copies, however, present great differences in detail; for towards the end of the middle ages, the text of Curtius was subjected to a thorough revision by a scholar who was very clever, but at the same time often too bold, and from this revised copy others again were made, partly with new emendations, and partly with unintentional mistakes. In this manner we may distinguish three classes of manuscripts—namely, 1. Ancient and faithful copies, without intentional corrections, but sometimes unintelligible, because the original manuscript itself was in some parts faulty or illegible; 2. Manuscripts which betray the correcting hand of the above-mentioned scholar, but are otherwise written with tolerable accuracy; 3. Manuscripts which are based upon the revised copy, but are disfigured by numerous mistakes, arising partly from arbitrary emendations, and partly from carelessness.

The first printed editions of Curtius, which appeared towards

the close of the fifteenth century (the first is that of Venice 1471), are based upon manuscripts of the third class, because they were of more recent origin, and consequently more legible. The faults which were thus introduced throughout the text, though they consisted only in single words and their arrangement, have remained unexpunged until the most recent times, although the defects did not escape the notice of learned editors; and many parts of the text were corrected, sometimes by conjectures, but more frequently from better manuscripts, by the scholars of the sixteenth century, as by Franciscus Asulanus (in the edition of Aldus, 1525), Hadrianus Junius (1546), and Franciscus Modius (1579). Their emendations, however, met with little confidence, because the reasons and sources of their corrections were but rarely and incompletely stated. Hence other editors, and among them especially Freinsheim (1640 and 1670), who has otherwise great merits, preferred retaining the old and faulty text, and altering it only in such passages where it seemed indispensably necessary. Owing to a feeling of reverence for Freinsheim, the text as constituted by him remained unchanged in the large edition of Snakenburg (Delft and Leyden, 1724); and on the whole, in all the subsequent editions also, although the faulty nature of the vulgate became more and more obvious by comparing several ancient and good manuscripts. Schmieder (Göttingen, 1803) was the first who restored a much more correct text, though he did not act consistently throughout; his explanatory notes in Latin also deserve praise on account of his diligence and sound judgment. The present editor first published an edition of Curtius (Berlin, 1826), in which, with the assistance of more manuscripts than any of his predecessors had made use of, he restored the text, as far as possible, of the genuine and unadulterated manuscripts of the first class. In the commentary to his great edition (Brunswick, 1849), he has stated the reasons and sources of all the changes he has made in the text, giving at the same time a complete account of the different readings of both the manuscripts and the early editions. The critical reader is thereby enabled to recognise the condition of the text, and, it is hoped, to convince himself of the correctness of the course which the editor has adopted.

The text here presented is the same as that of the last-mentioned edition, to which, for all critical questions, the reader is referred. The notes accompanying the present edition do not enter into critical discussions, their object being the explanation of the text; and combined with the ample contents prefixed to each book, they furnish everything which appeared necessary to lead a studious youth to a correct understanding

of the words and thoughts of the author. Wherever a Latin grammar is referred to by *Gram.*, the reader will understand that it is the Grammar of Dr. Schmitz, which forms part of this series.

The accompanying map is only an attempt, the place of which, we trust, will soon be supplied by a better one. For the present, we cannot help remarking that British scholars have rather neglected that part of comparative geography which is connected with the expedition of Alexander the Great. Every Englishman must feel an interest in studying the campaigns of Alexander, for they were made in countries where in recent times British valour has won such brilliant victories.

C. G. ZUMPT.

BERLIN, *April*, 1849.



INTRODUCTION.

The work 'De Gestis Alexandri Magni, regis Macedonum,' is ascribed in the manuscripts to an author of the name of Q. Curtius Rufus. The first two books are lost, and the work, as it has come down to us, begins with the third. This accident has deprived us of the preface, which the author had unquestionably prefixed to his work, and in which he probably also gave some account of himself and his circumstances. In addition to this, it so happens that no other ancient author makes mention of this Latin work on the life of Alexander—a circumstance which occurs also in the case of the 'Astronomica' of the poet Manilius, and the 'Historia Romana' of Velleius Paterculus. We cannot, therefore, say with any certainty who this Q. Curtius Rufus, mentioned on the title-page, really was, or at what time the book was written. In the work itself, however, we find some allusions to the time at which the author wrote: two passages which may admit of an extended period—namely, iv. 20, where it is stated that Tyre, after its fall under Alexander, was in the enjoyment of peaceful tranquillity, under the protection of Roman clemency, by which everything was refreshing and renovating itself during the blessings of a long peace; and iv. 45, where the author, in speaking of the Parthians, says, that they, having immigrated from Scythia, now occupied the country which at the time of the Persian monarchy was inhabited by the Parthyaei. From this passage, however, we can only infer that the work was written previous to the year A. D. 226; for in that year the Parthian power in Asia was destroyed by the rising of the new Persian Empire. Little, indeed, can be gathered from these allusions concerning the period at which this history of Curtius was written; but there is a third passage (x. 28) which throws more light upon the question; for there the author explains how, after the death of Alexander, when so many were competing for the succession, civil war arose among the Macedonian people, whereby the Empire broke to pieces, which, under the dominion of one, might have continued to flourish. And to this lamentable event the following remark is annexed:—'In consequence of this, the Roman people acknowledge with justice that they owe their prosperity to their *princeps*, who in the night which had nearly been the night of death to the state, rose as a

new star to give light again to the darkened universe, when the discordant members of the whole were in restless commotion without a leader. He extinguished the firebrand of civil war; he sheathed the swords, and dispersed the storm by sudden light.' The author closes this eulogy on the *princeps* with the hope that if envy can but be kept away, the descendants of the same house will last for ever, or at least for a very long period. We believe that this *princeps*, to whom the Roman Empire was indebted for a much happier fate than the Macedonian Empire experienced, was no other than Augustus, who put an end to the disturbances and civil wars which arose in consequence of the sudden death of Cæsar; and who, through the unity of his government, gave new strength and prosperity to the Empire. We of course understand the passage figuratively, when the author speaks of the night which enveloped the universe, and the rising of a new star; but we believe he was led to make use of this figurative expression by the extraordinary phenomenon, that during the whole of the year in which Cæsar was murdered, the sun appeared to have lost his splendour, and a dreary mist hung over the country—a phenomenon which is attested by contemporary authors. We are especially induced to entertain the opinion, that Augustus must be understood by the simple expression, 'that the Roman people owed that happiness to their *princeps*,' because this designation was new in the case of Augustus, and was made use of by him with especial predilection, whereas it became necessary to employ much stronger expressions of veneration with the subsequent emperors. Moreover, the simple appellation free from all flattery, 'the descendants of the same house,' alludes to a succession consisting of several younger members of the family, as Augustus actually possessed, particularly in his two eldest grandchildren, Gaius and Lucius Cæsar. We therefore come to the conclusion that Curtius wrote his history of Alexander some years before the Christian era, but at the latest in the year of the birth of our Saviour; for the two above-named adopted sons of the *princeps* died in the years 2 and 4 after Christ, whereupon the stepson of Augustus, Tiberius Claudius Nero, was appointed his successor: the latter was then in the mature age of manhood, and if he had been mentioned, he would have been indicated in a more significant manner.

We meet with two persons in Roman authors who bear the name Curtius Rufus: first, the rhetorician Q. Curtius Rufus, in the index to the work of Suetonius, 'De Claris Rhetoribus.' This work treats, in an introductory chapter, of the lives of the most eminent teachers of Latin eloquence, and afterwards each separate rhetorician is treated of in a separate chapter. Of this work, however, we have only the beginning. The introduction and the lives of

the five most ancient rhetoricians are all that have come down to us: the continuation, which, according to the index, should contain the lives of eleven rhetoricians, particularly No. 6, that of L. Caestius Pius, No. 7, that of M. Porcius Latro, No. 8, that of Q. Curtius Rufus, &c. &c., is lost, and no other notice of this rhetorician exists. A second person of this name is the consular Curtius Rufus mentioned in Pliny, *Epist.* vii. 27, and especially in Tacitus, *Ann.* xi. 20. It is related of him that he rose from the humblest station, through the support of his patrons and his own energetic eloquence, to the dignity of a senator; and Tiberius himself (who reigned from the year A.D. 14 to 37) promoted him to the praetorship, and afterwards even made him consul (namely, *suffectus*); and in the year A.D. 47 he received the *insignia triumphalia* as commander of the Roman army on the Upper Rhine; and at last was made proconsul of Africa — the highest honour a Roman statesman could attain under the emperors; in which office he died at an advanced age, probably in the year A.D. 52. It is unknown whether these two men named Curtius Rufus were related or not: we might have known had Tacitus, in the above-mentioned passage, expressed himself with less reserve respecting the origin of the consular, as he says the common opinion that he was the son of a gladiator was wrong, but that he himself was ashamed to state the truth. The question now is, whether either of them was the author of the life of Alexander. It has been even asserted by some that they were one and the same person, and that the rhetorician Q. Curtius Rufus, after spending a life devoted to literature, engaged in the service of the state; but we cannot possibly admit this, as the transition from the one to the other is so rare an occurrence, that Tacitus and Pliny, who give a tolerably detailed account of the consular, would necessarily have mentioned this circumstance. We, moreover, have little doubt that if a Roman consular had written such a work, either in the earlier years of his literary life, or in the leisure of a more advanced age, frequent mention would have been made of it by contemporary authors. We therefore believe that the first-mentioned Q. Curtius Rufus is the author of the following work: and if we have proved above that the Roman *princeps*, who is praised in the work as the preserver of the Roman Empire, is Augustus, and that Curtius wrote at a time when the house of Augustus still contained some promising young men, we may add that the best period of the rhetorician coincides with the time of the firmly-established sovereignty of Augustus; that is, about the year of the birth of Christ. M. Porcius Latro is the immediate predecessor of Curtius in the list of rhetoricians, whose lives Suetonius wrote, and he died, according to Hieronymus in

his 'Chronicon,' *Olymp.* 194, 1; that is, about 4 or 3 B.C.; so that we are justified in connecting the best period of our author with the year in which his predecessor in the list died. It is possible, indeed, that the consular, whose real origin Tacitus conceals from a feeling of modesty, was an illegitimate son of the rhetorician.

Those scholars who suppose the author of the life of Alexander to be either the rhetorician mentioned by Suetonius, or the consular described by Tacitus — as well as those who consider the eulogy on the Roman *princeps*, x. 28, to refer to Augustus, or Claudius, or Vespasian, or even, which is still less possible, to Trajan—agree with us in the opinion that the Latin language in the work of Curtius is worthy of all praise. We ourselves recognise in it the perfection of Roman literature, on account of the perfect accuracy in the appropriate use of separate words, and in the syntactical combination of words into clauses and sentences. There is only one point in which a slight deviation from the classical prose of Cicero and Cæsar may be observed; namely, that sometimes the expressions which were formerly used only in poetry are here introduced into prose — such as *aevum* for *vita* or *aetas*, *juventa* for *juventus*, *saevus* for *crudelis*, *immanis*; the frequent and thereby weakened use of *ingens*, and of *linquere* for *relinquere*; also the joining passive verbs with the dative instead of using the preposition *ab*. The frequent use of *ceterum* for *sed*, in which, however, Sallust had preceded Curtius, is likewise a slight deviation from the earlier language. Other deviations, such as the absolute use of the participle perfect passive — for instance, *audito* for *quum auditum esset*, with a sentence following; the use of the participle future active in connection with a hypothetical sentence—for instance, viii. 11, *acinacem strinxit percussurus uxorem, nisi prohibitus esset*, should be considered rather as examples of a judicious development of the language than as defects, since brevity and precision of expression are thereby promoted. The speeches, in particular, which Curtius, agreeably to the custom of the ancients and the example of other historians, interweaves into his history, are distinguished for their energetic eloquence, and for the appropriateness in the characters of the speakers; from which circumstance we may infer the rhetorical activity of the author, and his intention to produce a work with specimens of his skill. He had in this respect, and indeed in the whole composition of his history, a model in the Greek work of Clitarchus, a celebrated historian, who lived soon after the death of Alexander, and was much praised by the ancients for his rhetorical powers, though he was suspected of credulity, especially in his description of the wonders of far distant countries. The same defects, accordingly, are found in our Latin author; but it must be

observed, that it is easier to find fault with the uncertainty in the description of distant countries, than to correct them; and that subsequent experience has as often tended to confirm as to refute the wonders which the earlier observers described. We have, in our notes, fully discussed and traced to their proper sources the false conceptions which the companions of Alexander themselves formed concerning the situation of the countries on the Jaxartes, in the east of the Caspian Sea. Curtius, who wrote in Rome, and followed the Greek original of Clitarchus, might perhaps, by dint of serious research, have corrected the errors of his predecessors; but such researches about countries which were far beyond the boundaries of the Roman Empire, were not to the taste of those ancient authors, who wrote for the entertainment and moral instruction of their readers. Sallust, Livy, and Tacitus, have made similar blunders; and considering that the countries described by them were not so far distant, their mistakes are even more surprising.

With respect to the judgment of the moral character of Alexander the Great, we find our author quite in accordance with truth, and with the most faithful accounts of that noble character: he is a sincere admirer of his greatness and the wonderful energy of his mind, without passing over the faults which youth and passion fostered in him, and which were ripened by flattery on the one hand, and obstinate resistance on the other. We have no doubt that the study of this work will afford much useful nutriment to the young mind. To the scholar who wishes to form a distinct idea of that memorable period it is indispensable, as are also the military history of Arrian, the interesting biography of Plutarch, and the dry historical skeleton in Diodorus, who indeed follows the same Greek author as Curtius, but in a different spirit.



Q. CURTII RUFI

DE GESTIS

ALEXANDRI MAGNI,

REGIS MACEDONUM.

LIBER III.

Alexander, the great hero of this work, succeeded to the crown of his father Philip, king of Macedonia, in the twenty-first year of his age. After securing his supremacy in Greece, he commenced, in the spring of 334 B.C., a war, the object of which was the conquest of Asia. He crossed the Hellespont, routed on the river Granicus an army which was brought against him by the Persian satraps of Asia Minor, took the cities of Sardis, Ephesus, Miletus, and Halicarnassus, and compelled the whole of the western and southern coast, as far as Sida (Side), to submit to his arms. In the beginning of the spring of 333 B.C. he marched into Phrygia Major, a territory in the interior of Asia Minor, and ordered the whole Macedonian army to be concentrated at Gordium, the capital of that district. This is the point at which the narrative of Curtius begins, in the Third Book of his history, the first two books being lost.

(1) Alexander comes to Celaenae, and makes arrangements for occupying the citadel. (2) He assembles his army in Gordium, the capital of Phrygia. He cuts the celebrated Gordian knot with his sword. (3) After making arrangements for the security of the sea-coast of Asia Minor, he advances to Ancyra, proceeds to Paphlagonia, and enters Cappadocia. (4) The great king Darius musters his troops near Babylon. (5) Charidemus, an exiled Athenian, frankly shows to him the superiority of the Macedonian army, and pays for his candour with his life. (6) Darius, however, is troubled by dreams, which are variously interpreted by the soothsayers. (7 and 8) The pomp of the royal army when on its march is described. (9) Alexander marches through Cappadocia, and arrives

at the pass of Cilicia, which, neglected by the Persian leaders, is given up by the weak and deserted garrison to whose care it has been committed. (10) Description of Cilicia. (11) Alexander, while proceeding through the undefended passes, praises his good fortune, though he himself displayed the greatest prudence and foresight during the march. He enters Tarsus. (12) Alexander, whilst heated, bathes in the river Cydnus: his body becomes benumbed, and to the great grief of his army, he is carried away for dead. (13) On returning to his senses, he asks for a powerful medicine to hasten his recovery, saying that he would rather die than remain inactive at that decisive moment. (14) His own physician, Philip, promises to prepare such a medicine for him. In the meantime, Alexander receives a letter from Parmenio, warning him to beware of the treachery of his physician. Alexander, after an inward conflict, resolves to keep the letter secret. (15) When Philip brings him the potion, he drinks it without any signs of alarm, and then hands him the letter. The indignation of the physician shows his consciousness of innocence. (16) The result justifies the king's confidence. In three days he is able to appear again at the head of his troops. The Macedonians, from their great veneration for their kings in general, and their affection and admiration for Alexander in particular, publicly thank Philip. (17) Alexander takes Soli, and there celebrates games in gratitude for his recovery. He then goes to Mallos, and afterwards, having sent Parmenio on before, to Issus. In accordance with the opinion of his council of war, he resolves to give battle in this neighbourhood. (18) Sisenes, a Persian in the Macedonian army, is suspected of treachery, and, though innocent, is put to death. (19) Darius rejects the advice of the Greeks in his service, to offer battle in Mesopotamia, or at least to divide his forces. (20) Leaving the heavy baggage at Damascus, he leads his army towards Cilicia, goes through the pass of Mons Amanus (Pylae Amanicae), and arrives at Issus, which, however, the Macedonians have already left, having gone through the Cilician gates into Syria. (21) After the receipt of this intelligence, Alexander retraces his steps, and arrives in the neighbourhood of Darius's camp at Issus. (22) Darius is surprised: having ordered a division of his army to cross the river Pinarus, and oppose the Macedonians, he settles his plan of operation. (23) His order of battle is described. (24) Alexander's order of battle. (25) Alexander encourages the various divisions of his army. (26) The armies meet—the battle commences. (27) Alexander presses hard upon Darius; the Persians fall around their sovereign; Darius leaves his chariot, mounts a horse which is kept ready for him, and flees. (28) General flight of the Persian army. Their camp is plundered, the royal tent alone being spared (29), in which are the family of Darius, plunged in grief. The total loss on both sides is stated. (30) Alexander returns from the pursuit, and sends Leonnatus to the royal ladies, who are mistakenly bewailing the death of Darius. (31) He visits them himself, accompanied by Hephaes-

tion, and consoles them. (32) He displays the utmost forbearance and respect towards the mother, wife, and children of Darius. (33) Parmenio, who has been sent out in pursuit, is invited to Damascus by the treacherous commandant of that city, who promises to give up, without resistance, all that King Darius has left there. (34) Parmenio undertakes this expedition, and obtains an immense quantity of booty (35), and a great many prisoners of distinction. The traitor, however, receives the due reward of his deeds, at the hand of one of the betrayed.

INTER haec Alexander, ad conducendum ex Peloponneso militem[1] Cleandro cum pecunia misso, Lyciae Pamphyliaeque rebus compositis, ad urbem Celaenas[2] exercitum admovit. Media illa tempestate moenia interfluebat Marsyas amnis, fabulosis Graecorum carminibus inclitus. Fons ejus ex summo montis cacumine excurrens in subjectam petram magno strepitu aquarum cadit: inde diffusus circumjectos rigat campos, liquidus et suas dumtaxat undas trahens. Itaque color ejus placido mari similis locum poëtarum mendacio fecit: quippe traditum est, Nymphas amore amnis retentas in illa rupe considere. Ceterum quamdiu intra muros fluit, nomen suum retinet: at cum extra munimenta se evolvit, majore vi ac mole agentem undas Lycum appellant. Alexander quidem urbem destitutam a suis intrat, arcem vero, in quam confugerant, oppugnare adortus, caduceatorem praemisit, qui denuntiaret, ni dederent,[3] ipsos ultima esse passuros. Illi caduceatorem in turrem,[4] et situ et opere multum editam, perductum, quanta esset altitudo, intueri jubent, ac nuntiare Alexandro, non eadem ipsum et incolas aestimatione munimenta metiri: se scire inexpugnabiles esse; ad ultimum, pro fide morituros. Ceterum ut circumsideri arcem et omnia sibi in dies artiora[5] esse vide-

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[1] Greek mercenaries were usually enlisted in the Peloponnesus, and particularly in Arcadia. As to *miles* used in the singular in a collective sense, see Zumpt, § 364.

[2] A city of Phrygia Major, the inhabitants of which were afterwards transplanted to the neighbouring town of *Apamea*. It is to this fact that the remark in the next clause refers: 'at that time' (*illa tempestate*) 'the Marsyas flowed through the middle of the city.' The Marsyas falls into the Maeander, which flows westward, and discharges itself into the Aegean Sea.

[3] Supply *arcem*.

[4] The more common form of the accusative is *turrim*, ablative *turri;* but *turrem* and *turre* are also used by classical writers. See *Gram.* § 64, and *Curt.* iv. 19 and 26.

[5] The adjective *artus*, confined, narrow, is originally, without doubt, a participle of the verb *arcere*. The word was neither pronounced nor written *arctus*, but, by the elision of the *c*, *artus*.

runt, sexaginta dierum inducias pacti, ut, nisi intra eos auxilium Dareus[1] ipse misisset, dederent urbem: postquam nihil inde praesidii mittebatur, ad praestitutam diem[2] permisere se regi. Superveniunt deinde legati Atheniensium, petentes, ut capti apud Granicum amnem redderentur sibi.[3] Ille non hos modo, sed etiam ceteros Graecos restitui suis jussurum respondit, finito Persico bello.

2. Ceterum Dareo imminens, quem nondum Euphraten[4] superasse cognoverat, undique omnes copias contrahit, totis viribus tanti belli discrimen aditurus. Phrygia erat, per quam ducebatur exercitus; pluribus vicis, quam urbibus frequens. Tunc habebat nobilem quondam Midae regiam: Gordium nomen est urbi, quam Sangarius amnis interfluit, pari intervallo Pontico et Cilicio mari distantem.[5] Inter haec maria angustissimum Asiae spatium esse comperimus, utroque in artas fauces compellente terram. Quae quia continente adhaeret, sed magna ex parte cingitur fluctibus, speciem insulae praebet, ac nisi tenue discrimen objiceret, quae nunc dividit, maria committeret. Alexander, urbe in dicionem[6] suam redacta, Jovis templum intrat. Vehiculum, quo Gordium Midae patrem vectum esse constabat, aspexit, cultu haud sane a vilioribus vulgatisque usu abhorrens.[7] Notabile erat jugum astrictum compluribus nodis in semetipsos implicatis, et celantibus nexus. Incolis deinde affirmantibus, editam esse oraculo sortem, Asiae potiturum,[8]

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[1] The Greek form of this word is Δαρεῖος. As the Latins did not use the diphthong *ei*, they changed it in some words into *i*, in others into *e*; and this name is always written in the best manuscripts of Latin authors, *Dareus*.

[2] *Dies*, feminine in the sense of an appointed day.

[3] Most of the states of Greece had yielded to the supremacy of the Macedonians. Many Athenians, indignant at this, had entered the Persian service; and it is to those of this class who had been taken prisoners that the text refers. Alexander was not unmerciful: he gave the prisoners their liberty before the end of the war. See lib. iv. 34.

[4] In reference to this Greek accusative of the words in *es*, which in Greek are declined by the first declension, genitive *ov*, but in Latin by the third, genitive *is*, see *Gram.* § 55, note 5.

[5] A glance at the map shows that this is only roughly correct.

[6] This word is also written *ditio*, but it is derived from *dicere*, and the spelling with *c* is confirmed by the best manuscripts. The same may be said of *condicio*, which is usually, but incorrectly, written *conditio*.

[7] 'Not very different in its outward appearance.' *Abhorrere* has not so strong a signification as its derivation from *horreo* might induce us to believe. It is frequently no more than *diversum esse*.

[8] As to *potior* with genitive, see *Gram.* § 300, note.

qui inexplicabile vinculum solvisset, cupido incessit animo[1] sortis ejus implendae. Circa regem erat et Phrygum turba et Macedonum, illa expectatione suspensa, haec sollicita ex temeraria regis fiducia: quippe series vinculorum ita astricta erat, ut unde nexus inciperet, quove se conderet, nec ratione, nec visu perspici posset: solvere aggressus injecerat curam, ne in omen verteretur irritum inceptum. Ille nequicquam[2] diu luctatus cum latentibus nodis, nihil, inquit, interest, quomodo solvantur: gladioque ruptis omnibus loris, oraculi sortem vel elucit, vel implevit.[3]

3. Cum deinde Dareum, ubicunque esset, occupare statuisset, ut a tergo tuta relinqueret, Amphoterum classi ad oram Hellesponti, copiis autem praefecit Hegelochum, Lesbum et Chium Coumque[4] praesidiis hostium liberaturos. His talenta ad belli usum quingenta attributa: ad Antipatrum et eos, qui Graecas urbes tuebantur, sexcenta missa: ex foedere naves sociis imperatae, quae Hellesponto praesiderent.[5] Nondum enim Memnonem[6] vita excessisse cognoverat: in quem omnes intenderat curas, satis gnarus cuncta in expedito fore, si nihil ab eo moveretur. Jamque ad urbem Ancyram ventum erat, ubi numero copiarum inito, Paphlagoniam intrat;[7] huic juncti erant Heneti, unde quidam Venetos trahere originem credunt. Omnis haec regio paruit regi, datisque obsidibus tributum, quod ne Persis quidem tulissent,[8] pendere ne cogerentur, impetraverunt. Calas huic regioni

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[1] For construction of *incedo*, see Zumpt, § 387. Curtius also uses the accusative with *incedere*, iv. 10.

[2] 'Without success.'

[3] It came to the same thing: the yoke was freed from the beam. As to *vel-vel*, see Zumpt, § 339.

[4] This island, near Halicarnassus and Cnidus, called in Greek Κῶς, is written in Latin both *Cos* and *Cous*, accus. *Con* and *Coum*, ablat. *Co*. See Zumpt, § 52.

[5] 'Which were to protect the Hellespont.' The name Hellespontus, though it properly applies to the strait between the Aegean Sea and the Propontis, is also given to the land on both sides, in which, on the European coast, is situated Sestos, on the Asiatic, Abydos.

[6] A Greek of Rhodes, who had been a skilful and highly-trusted commander among the Persians.

[7] Paphlagonia, a country on the Pontus, between the rivers Parthenius and Halys. In this country the Heneti are said once to have dwelt, who, according to a wide-spread tradition, emigrated in the Trojan times, and founded the tribe of the Veneti in Italy. In historical times there were no Heneti in Paphlagonia. Alexander's conquest of Paphlagonia was but superficial; its most complete subjugation was left to Calas. See iv. 23.

[8] The subjunctive shows it to have been a statement of the Paphlagonians themselves. See *Gram.* § 354.

praepositus est; ipse, assumptis qui ex Macedonia nuper advenerant, Cappadociam[1] petiit.

4. At Dareus, nuntiata Memnonis morte haud secus quam[2] par erat motus, omissa omni alia spe, statuit ipse decernere: quippe quae per duces suos acta erant cuncta damnabat, ratus pluribus curam, omnibus abfuisse fortunam. Igitur[3] castris ad Babylona[4] positis, quo majore animo capesserent bellum, universas vires in conspectum dedit: et circumdato vallo, quod decem milium armatorum multitudinem caperet, Xerxis exemplo[5] numerum copiarum iniit. Orto sole ad noctem agmina, sicut descripta erant, intravere vallum. Inde emissa occupaverant Mesopotamiae campos, equitum peditumque propemodum innumerabilis turba, majorem quam pro numero speciem ferens.[6] Persarum erant centum milia, in quis eques[7] triginta implebat. Medi decem equitum, quinquaginta milia peditum habebant. Barcanorum[8] equitum duo milia fuere, armati bipennibus levibusque scutis cetrae[9] maxime speciem reddentibus: peditum decem milia equitum pari armatu[10] sequebantur. Armenii quadraginta milia miserant peditum, additis septem milibus equitum. Hyrcani egregii, ut inter illas gentes, sex milia expleverant, additis equitibus militatura.[11] Derbices[12] quadraginta peditum milia armaverant: pluribus aere aut ferro praefixae[13] hastae,

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[1] A large province in the interior of Asia Minor, beyond the Halys. The people inhabited unfortified towns, the principal of which were Mazaca and Comana.

[2] 'Not otherwise than;' that is, not less than. See Zumpt, § 283. Compare *haud aliter ac*, *haud minus quam*, *aeque ac*.

[3] In Curtius we find *igitur* as often at the beginning of a sentence as after a word; whereas in Cicero it very seldom stands first.

[4] For this accusative, see *Gram.* § 70, note 2.

[5] According to Herodotus, Xerxes numbered his forces in this way in Thrace, at Doriscus on the river Hebrus.

[6] The army was very numerous, but it appeared more so than it really was.

[7] Particular descriptions of troops, as infantry, cavalry, &c., are usually expressed by the singular, in a collective sense.

[8] A tribe otherwise little known, dwelling near the Hyrcani, on the Caspian Sea.

[9] A leathern shield, without wood, similar to the Greek πέλτη. From this word *cetra*, the troops who in Greek are called πελτασταί, are called in Latin *cetrati*.

[10] 'Armed like the cavalry.'

[11] Who were accustomed to fight associated with cavalry.

[12] A tribe which appears nowhere else in Curtius, but which, according to other writers, was located east of the Hyrcani, towards the Oxus.

[13] 'Tipped with brass or iron.' Compare, in reference to the use of *praefixus*, iii. 8, iv. 35.

quidam lignum igni duraverant. Hos quoque duo milia equitum ex eadem gente comitata sunt. A Caspio mari octo milium pedester exercitus venerat, ducenti equites. Cum his erant ignobiles aliae gentes: duo milia peditum, equitum duplicem paraverant numerum. His copiis triginta milia Graecorum mercede conducta, egregiae juventutis, adjecta. Nam Bactrianos et Sogdianos et Indos ceterosque rubri maris[1] accolas, ignota etiam ipsi gentium nomina, festinatio prohibebat acciri.[2] Nec quicquam illi minus, quam multitudo militum defuit.

5. Cujus tum universae aspectu admodum laetus, purpuratis[3] solita vanitate spem ejus inflantibus, conversus ad Charidemum Atheniensem, belli peritum, et ob exilium infestum Alexandro, quippe Athenis jubente eo fuerat expulsus, percontari coepit, satisne ei videretur instructus ad obterendum hostem? At ille, et suae sortis et regiae superbiae oblitus, Verum, inquit, et tu forsitan audire nolis,[4] et ego, nisi nunc dixero, alias nequicquam confitebor. Hic tanti apparatus exercitus, haec tot gentium et totius Orientis excita sedibus suis moles, finitimis potest esse terribilis: nitet purpura auroque, fulget armis et opulentia, quantam qui oculis non subjecere, animis concipere non possunt. Sed Macedonum acies, torva sane et inculta, clipeis hastisque immobiles cuneos et conferta robora virorum[5] tegit. Ipsi phalangem vocant, peditum stabile agmen: vir viro, armis arma conserta sunt: ad nutum monentis intenti, sequi signa, ordines servare didicerunt. Quod imperatur omnes exaudiunt: obsistere, circumire, discurrere in cornu, mutare pugnam,[6]

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[1] The name *Mare Rubrum* applies to the whole of the great Southern or Indian Ocean, of which the gulf between Arabia and Egypt, which we call the Red Sea, is but a part. The latter is not meant here.

[2] For *prohibere* with infinitive, see Zumpt, § 544.

[3] Courtiers and statesmen of high rank were called *purpurati*, because their clothes were adorned with purple hems. *Vanitas* implies here 'stating as true what is doubtful;' it often signifies 'positive falsehood.'

[4] *Forsitan* is usually followed by the subjunctive mood.

[5] 'Immovable, unwavering columns (we may use this word instead of the literal translation, 'wedges'), and close bodies of strong men.' *Robora virorum*, a poetical and figurative expression, equivalent to *robusti viri*.

[6] These are the regular military terms: *obsistere*, to form a front line; *circumire*, to wheel to the right or left, the soldier on the extreme right or left standing still, whilst the others march round him in a half circle; *discurrere in cornu*, when the men in the rear are brought forward, and extend the front line by placing themselves at the wings; *mutare pugnam*, to change the kind of battle, as, for instance, when the close lines were broken up and the soldiers fought singly.

non duces magis, quam milites[1] callent. Ac ne auri argentique studio teneri putes, adhuc illa disciplina paupertate magistra stetit.[2] Fatigatis humus cubile est: cibus, quem occupati parant,[3] satiat: tempora somni artiora, quam noctis sunt.[4] Jam Thessali equites et Acarnanes Aetolique, invicta bello manus, fundis, credo, et hastis igne duratis repellentur? Pari robore opus est. In illa terra, quae hos genuit, auxilia quaerenda sunt: argentum istud atque aurum ad conducendum militem mitte.[5] Erat Dareo mite ac tractabile ingenium, nisi suam naturam plerumque fortuna corrumperet.[6] Itaque veritatis impatiens, hospitem ac supplicem, tunc cummaxime[7] utilia suadentem, abstrahi jussit ad capitale supplicium. Ille ne tum quidem[8] libertatis oblitus, habeo, inquit, paratum mortis meae ultorem: expetet poenas consilii mei spreti ipse, contra quem tibi suasi. Tu quidem licentia regni tam subito mutatus, documentum eris posteris, homines, cum se permisere fortunae, etiam naturam dediscere. Haec vociferantem, quibus imperatum erat,[9] jugulant. Sera deinde poenitentia subiit regem, ac vera dixisse confessus, sepeliri eum jussit.

6. Thymodes erat, Mentoris filius, impiger juvenis: cui

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[1] Every common soldier in the Macedonian army understands these evolutions, and knows the best modes of executing them, quite as perfectly as the officers.

[2] 'Has been maintained.'

[3] 'Which they prepare hastily, and by snatches, whilst engaged in other occupations.'

[4] That is, they do not devote the whole night to sleep, but rise before daybreak.

[5] The advice, then, of Charidemus was this:—That the army which Darius was to lead against the Macedonians should be composed, principally at least, of Greek mercenaries, because these alone were equal to the enemy in activity and skill. This advice, of course, implied a great contempt of the Asiatics.

[6] Literally, 'When he did not, as very often happened, corrupt (that is, change for the worse the tendency of) his natural disposition, by his good fortune;' that is, his lofty station. In this translation we treat *fortuna* as the ablative. Others read *sanam* instead of *suam*. The sentence then becomes general: 'If it were not too frequently the case that fortune corrupts a naturally good disposition.'

[7] 'Then especially.' *Tum maxime* would have been sufficient here, but *tunc cummaxime* is stronger. *Cummaxime* is joined with *nunc* as well as *tunc;* but *maxime* is joined only to the adverb of past time.

[8] 'Not even then;' that is, after hearing his sentence. The distinction between *tunc* and *tum* is properly this: *tunc* is, 'at that time,' opposed to *nunc; tum* is, 'thereupon,' or, very often, correlative to *quum*. See Zumpt, § 285.

[9] 'Those to whom the execution of the sentence had been intrusted.'

praeceptum est a rege, ut omnes peregrinos milites, in quis[1] plurimum habebat spei, a Pharnabazo acciperet, opera eorum usurus in bello: ipse Pharnabazo tradit imperium, quod antea Memnoni dederat.[2] Anxium de instantibus curis, agitabant etiam per somnum species imminentium rerum; sive illas aegritudo, sive divinatio animi praesagientis accersit.[3] Castra Alexandri magno ignis fulgore collucere ei visa sunt, et paulo post Alexander adduci ad ipsum in eo vestis habitu,[4] quo ipse fuisset, equo deinde per Babylona vectus, subito cum ipso equo oculis esse subductus. Ad haec vates varia interpretatione curam distrinxerant: alii laetum id regi somnium esse dicebant, quod castra hostium arsissent, quod Alexandrum, deposita regia veste, in Persico et vulgari habitu perductum esse vidisset. Quidam vera augurabantur: quippe illustria Macedonum castra visa fulgorem Alexandro portendere: quem regnum Asiae occupaturum esse, haud ambigere,[5] quoniam in eodem habitu Dareus fuisset, cum appellatus est rex.[6] Vetera quoque omina, ut fere, sollicitudo revocaverat: recensebant[7] enim Dareum in principio imperii vaginam acinacis Persicam jussisse mutari in eam formam, qua Graeci uterentur,[8] protinusque Chaldaeos interpretatos, imperium Persarum ad eos transiturum, quorum arma esset imitatus. Ceterum ipse et vatum responso, quod edebatur in vulgus, et specie, quae per somnum oblata erat, admodum laetus, castra ad Euphraten moveri jubet.

7. Patrio more Persarum traditum est orto sole demum procedere. Die jam illustri signum e tabernaculo regis buccina[9] dabatur. Super tabernaculum, unde ab omnibus con-

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[1] *Quis* is often used for *quibus*, without any difference of meaning. It is only employed, however, in the relative sense, not in the interrogative.

[2] Namely, to command the fleet, which was to cruise in the Aegean, and on the coast of Asia Minor, and to endeavour to bring about a revolt of the states of Greece against the Macedonian supremacy.

[3] *Accersere* and *arcessere* are two forms of the same verb. The manuscript reading in Curtius is decidedly the former; in Cicero the latter is more common.

[4] *Habitus* is the exterior or outward form of anything. It is sometimes used by itself without *vestis*, in the sense of dress.

[5] The infinitive depends on the verb 'they said,' which must be taken out of *augurabàntur*. See *Gram.* § 379, note 2.

[6] 'At the time when he was appointed king.' The verb ought properly, being in the *oratio obliqua*, to have been in the pluperfect subjunctive, *appellatus esset*.

[7] 'They related.'

[8] The Greek sword was long and straight, the ancient Persian scimitar short and curved.

[9] In the Roman army, too, the signals for setting and relieving sentinels were made by a horn.

spici posset, imago solis crystallo inclusa fulgebat.[1] Ordo autem agminis erat talis. Ignis, quem ipsi sacrum et aeternum vocabant, argenteis altaribus praeferebatur. Magi proximi patrium carmen canebant. Magos trecenti et sexaginta quinque juvenes sequebantur, puniceis[2] amiculis velati, diebus totius anni pares numero; quippe Persis quoque in totidem dies descriptus est annus. Currum deinde Jovi sacratum albentes vehebant equi: hos eximiae magnitudinis equus, quem Solis appellabant, sequebatur. Aureae virgae et albae vestes regentes equos[3] adornabant. Haud procul erant vehicula decem multo auro argentoque caelata.[4] Sequebatur haec equitatus duodecim gentium[5] variis armis et moribus. Proximi ibant quos Persae Immortales vocant,[6] ad decem milia. Cultus opulentiae barbarae non alios magis honestabat: illi aureos torques, illi[7] vestem auro distinctam[8] habebant, manicatasque tunicas, gemmis etiam adornatas. Exiguo intervallo, quos cognatos regis appellant,[9] decem et quinque milia hominum. Haec vero turba muliebriter propemodum culta, luxu magis quam decoris armis conspicua erat. Doryphoroe[10] vocabantur proximum his agmen, soliti vestem excipere regalem. Hi currum regis anteibant, quo ipse eminens vehebatur. Utrumque currus latus deorum simulacra ex auro argentoque expressa decorabant: distinguebant internitentes gemmae jugum, ex quo eminebant duo aurea simulacra cubitalia, quorum alterum Nini, alterum erat Beli.[11] Inter haec aquilam auream pinnas[12] extendenti similem sacraverent.

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[1] Light and the pure essence of fire were worshipped by the Persians, as impersonations or exhibitions of the beneficent divinity Ormuzd. The priests of this light or fire-worship were called Magi, just as the priestly order among the Babylonians consisted of Chaldaeans, and in India of Brahmins.

[2] Equivalent to *purpureis*.

[3] 'Those who managed the horses.' The participle *regens* for the noun *rector*.

[4] 'Ornamented with plates of gold and silver, on which figures were wrought.' *Caelare* is to carve in metal with the *caelum*.

[5] The ruling nation of the Persians in the province of Persis was divided into twelve tribes.

[6] Because their number was always kept complete.

[7] See for this use of *ille*, Zumpt, § 702.

[8] 'Embroidered with gold.' *Distinguere* expresses that the full view of an object is, by the interposition of another object, intercepted for a moment. Thus we say: *distinguere coelum stellis*, *distinguere vestem purpura*, *gemmis*, &c.

[9] A title of honour given to this division of the army.

[10] For this form, see Zumpt, § 52.

[11] These the old traditional history calls the founders of the Assyrian and Babylonian empires.

[12] The wing feathers, or wings themselves, different from *pennae*,

8. Cultus regis inter omnia luxuria notabatur. Purpureae tunicae medium album intextum erat:[1] pallam auro distinctam aurei accipitres, velut rostris inter se concurrerent, adornabant: et zona aurea muliebriter cinctus acinacem suspenderat,[2] cui ex gemma[3] vagina erat. Cidarim Persae vocabant regium capitis insigne: hoc caerulea fascia albo distincta circumibat. Currum decem milia hastatorum sequebantur: hastas argento exornatas, spicula auro praefixa gestabant. Dextra laevaque regem ducenti ferme nobilissimi propinquorum comitabantur. Horum agmen claudebatur triginta milibus peditum, quos equi regis quadringenti sequebantur. Intervallo deinde unius stadii matrem Darei Sisygambim currus vehebat, et in alio erat conjunx.[4] Turba feminarum reginas comitantium equis vectabatur. Quindecim deinde, quas armamaxas appellabant,[5] sequebantur. In his erant liberi regis, et qui educabant eos, spadonumque grex, haud sane illis gentibus vilis. Tum regiae pellices trecentae sexaginta vehebantur, et ipsae regali[6] cultu ornatuque. Post quas pecuniam regis sexcenti muli et trecenti cameli vehebant, praesidio sagittariorum prosequente. Propinquorum amicorumque conjuges huic agmini proximae, lixarumque et calonum[7] greges vehebantur. Ultimi erant cum suis quique ducibus,[8] qui cogerent agmen, leviter armati. Contra si quis aciem Macedonum intueretur, dispar facies erat, equis virisque non auro, non discolori veste, sed ferro atque aere fulgentibus. Agmen et stare paratum et sequi, nec turba nec sarcinis praegrave, intentum ad ducis non signum modo, sed etiam nutum. Et castris locus, et exercitui commeatus suppetebant. Ergo Alexandro in acie miles non defuit: Dareus, tantae multitudinis rex, loci, in quo pugnavit, angustiis redactus est ad paucitatem, quam in hoste contempserat.

9. Interea Alexander, Abistamene Cappadociae praeposito,

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which are the feathers that a bird has for warmth. Sometimes *pinna* means the battlement of a wall.

[1] 'The tunica was of purple, with white stripes in the middle.'

[2] Supply *ex ea zona*, or repeat mentally the same ablative: 'he carried a scimitar suspended from his girdle.'

[3] Precious stones set close to one another may be said to form a single mass. The singular expresses the general substance.

[4] *Conjunx*, gen. *conjugis*. See Zumpt, § 60.

[5] *Armamaxae*, or *harmamaxae*, a particular kind of close carriage.

[6] *Regius*, what belongs to a king; *regalis*, what is worthy of a king, or after a kingly fashion.

[7] *Lixae* are free people, who follow an army in pursuit of trade; pedlars, suttlers; *calones* are slaves who, particularly among the cavalry, attend to the baggage.

[8] 'Every band with its own leaders.'

Ciliciam petens cum omnibus copiis, regionem,[1] quae castra Cyri appellatur, pervenerat. Stativa illic habuerat Cyrus, cum adversus Croesum in Lydiam duceret. Aberat ea regio quinquaginta stadia ab aditu, quo Ciliciam intramus: Pylas incolae dicunt[2] artissimas fauces, munimenta, quae manu ponimus, naturali situ imitante. Igitur Arsames, qui Ciliciae praeerat, reputans quid initio belli Memnon suasisset, quondam salubre consilium sero[3] exequi statuit: igni ferroque Ciliciam vastat, ut hosti solitudinem faciat: quicquid usui potest esse corrumpit, sterile ac nudum solum, quod tueri nequibat, relicturus.[4] Sed longe utilius fuit[5] angustias aditus, qui Ciliciam aperit, valido occupare praesidio, jugumque opportune itineri imminens[6] obtinere, unde inultus subeuntem hostem aut prohibere, aut opprimere potuisset: tunc paucis, qui callibus praesiderent,[7] relictis, retro ipse concessit, populator terrae, quam a populationibus vindicare debebat. Ergo qui relicti erant, proditos se rati, ne conspectum quidem hostis sustinere valuerunt, cum vel pauciores locum obtinere potuissent.

10. Namque perpetuo jugo montis asperi ac praerupti Cilicia includitur; quod cum a mari assurgat, velut sinu quodam flexuque curvatum, rursus altero cornu in diversum litus excurrit.[8] Per hoc dorsum, qua maxime introrsus mari cedit,[9] asperi tres aditus et peranguști sunt, quorum uno Cilicia intranda est. Campestris eadem,[10] qua vergit ad mare, planitiem ejus crebris distinguentibus rivis: Pyramus et Cydnus incliti amnes fluunt. Cydnus non spatio aquarum, sed liquore memorabilis, quippe leni tractu e fontibus labens puro solo excipitur, nec torrentes incurrunt, qui placide

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[1] The regular construction should have been *in regionem*, since *regio* is not a proper name of a town.

[2] What we call a pass was called in the Hellenized east *pylae*, and thus we read of *pylae Ciliciae, pylae Amanicae* (from Cilicia into Syria, through the mountain chain of Amanus), *pylae Caspiae*, &c.

[3] 'Too late.'

[4] 'Intending to leave the country, which he could not protect, naked and sterile.' This use of the future participle active is quite proper, and very frequent in Curtius.

[5] 'It would have been much more useful.' See *Gram.* § 328.

[6] 'The ridge, which conveniently (for the defenders) hung over or commanded the pass.'

[7] 'To act as a garrison for the defence of the pass.'

[8] The chain of Taurus rises from the sea, forms itself into a crescent, and falls again, at a distant point of the coast, into the sea.

[9] Where the mountains are furthest inland, and, as it were, give the sea room.

[10] 'Cilicia, however, just at that place where it sinks towards the sea,' &c.

manantis alveum turbent:[1] itaque incorruptus, idemque frigidissimus, quippe multa riparum amoenitate inumbratus, ubique fontibus suis similis in mare evadit. Multa in ea regione monumenta, vulgata carminibus, vetustas exederat. Monstrabantur urbium sedes, Lyrnessi et Thebes,[2] Typhonis quoque specus, et Corycium nemus, ubi crocum gignitur, ceteraque, in quibus nihil praeter famam duraverat.

11. Alexander fauces jugi, quae Pylae appellantur, intravit. Contemplatus locorum situm, non alias magis[3] dicitur admiratus esse felicitatem suam: obrui potuisse vel saxis confitebatur, si fuissent, qui in subeuntes propellerent. Iter vix quaternos[4] capiebat armatos: dorsum montis imminebat viae, non augustae modo, sed plerumque praeruptae, crebris oberrantibus rivis,[5] qui ex radicibus montium manant. Thracas tamen leviter armatos praecedere jusserat, scrutarique calles, ne occultus hostis in subeuntes erumperet. Sagittariorum quoque manus occupaverat jugum:[6] intentos arcus habebant, moniti, non iter ipsos inire, sed proelium. Hoc modo agmen pervenit ad urbem Tarson,[7] cui tum maxime Persae subjiciebant ignem, ne opulentum oppidum hostis invaderet. At ille, Parmenione ad inhibendum incendium cum expedita manu praemisso, postquam barbaros adventu suorum fugatos esse cognovit, urbem a se conservatam intrat.

12. Medium Cydnus amnis, de quo paulo ante dictum est, interfluit, et tunc aestas erat, cujus calor non aliam magis quam Ciliciae oram vapore solis accendit, et diei fervidissimum tempus exceperat.[8] Pulvere simul ac sudore perfusum[9] regem invitavit liquor fluminis, ut calidum adhuc corpus ablueret. Itaque veste deposita in conspectu agminis (decorum quoque futurum ratus, si ostendisset suis, levi et parabili cultu corporis[10] se esse contentum), descendit in flumen. Vixque ingressi subito horrore artus rigere coeperunt, pallor

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[1] A fine use of the subjunctive. See *Gram.* § 360, 3.

[2] Both places are mentioned by Homer in the Iliad as being inhabited by Cilicians; and this is all their poetical celebrity. Briseis, the beloved of Achilles, was a native of Lyrnessus.

[3] 'At no other time more;' that is, especially on that occasion.

[4] 'The path scarcely permitted four armed men to march abreast,' or 'in a row.'

[5] 'Numerous rivulets meeting the traveller here and there.'

[6] That is, 'had been sent to take possession of the heights.'

[7] Also *Tarsum*. See *Gram.* § 58, note 6.

[8] 'Had begun;' literally, 'had received,' or 'followed,' the cooler time of the day.

[9] This participle is applicable only to the latter substantive; to the former we must supply a more general term, 'covered,' 'begrimed.' See Zumpt, § 775.

[10] 'Dress.'

deinde suffusus est,[1] et totum propemodum corpus vitalis calor liquit.[2] Expiranti similem ministri manu excipiunt, nec satis compotem mentis in tabernaculum deferunt. Ingens sollicitudo et paene jam luctus[3] in castris erat. Flentes querebantur, in tanto impetu cursuque rerum[4] omnis aetatis ac memoriae clarissimum regem non in acie saltem,[5] non ab hoste dejectum, sed abluentem aqua corpus ereptum esse et extinctum. Instare Dareum, victorem antequam vidisset hostem. Sibi easdem terras, quas victoria[6] peragrassent, repetendas: omnia aut ipsos aut hostes populatos: per vastas solitudines, etiamsi nemo insequi velit, euntes, fame atque inopia debellari posse. Quem signum daturum fugientibus? quem ausurum Alexandro succedere? Jam ut ad Hellespontum fuga penetrarent, classem, qua transeant, quem praeparaturum? Rursus in ipsum regem misericordia versa, illum[7] florem juventae, illam vim animi, eundem regem et commilitonem, divelli a se et abrumpi immemores sui querebantur.

13. Inter haec liberius meare spiritus coeperat, allevabatque rex oculos, et paulatim redeunte animo circumstantes amicos agnoverat, laxataque vis morbi ob hoc solum videbatur, quia magnitudinem mali sentiebat. Animi autem aegritudo corpus urgebat, quippe Dareum[8] quinto die in Cilicia fore nuntiabatur. Vinctum ergo se tradi, et tantam victoriam eripi sibi ex manibus, obscuraque et ignobili morte in tabernaculo extingui se, querebatur. Admissisque amicis pariter ac medicis, In quo me, inquit, articulo[9] rerum mearum fortuna deprehenderit, cernitis. Strepitum hostilium

[1] 'Spread itself.' This verb (*suffundi*) is used more particularly of 'blood,' and 'blushing,' which seems to *pour itself* under the skin. It is here used of paleness.

[2] *Linquere*, for *relinquere;* a poetical word. At least it is not used in ordinary prose.

[3] 'Lamentation for him as dead.'

[4] *Impetus* is a violent motion. We speak in the same manner of events 'pressing onward,' &c.

[5] It would have been some consolation if he had at least fallen in battle.

[6] 'With victory,' or 'victoriously.' See Zumpt, § 473. In the same way, *fuga penetrare*. The usual expression is *victores*, as conquerors, *fugientes*, as fugitives.

[7] We speak of *this* flower of youth, *this* energy of mind. But in the Latin *illum*, the *flos juventae* is viewed as already departed. See Zumpt, § 701. Regarding the phrase *eundum regem*, &c., king and comrade in one person, see Zumpt, § 697.

[8] It might, and indeed according to regular practice ought, to have been *Dareus;* but see Zumpt, § 607, note.

[9] *Articulus*, a diminutive from *artus* (a *plurale tantum*, limbs), means first a limb, then a separated portion of anything, a small portion of time, in particular a decisive or critical moment, *momentum temporis*.

armorum exaudire mihi videor,[1] et qui ultro intuli bellum, jam provocor. Dareus ergo cum tam superbas litteras scriberet,[2] fortunam meam in consilio habuit:[3] sed nequicquam, si mihi arbitrio meo curari[4] licet. Lenta remedia et segnes medicos non expectant tempora mea: vel mori strenue, quam tarde convalescere mihi melius est. Proinde, si quid opis, si quid artis in medicis est, sciant, me non tam mortis, quam belli remedium quaerere. Ingentem omnibus incusserat curam tam praeceps temeritas ejus. Ergo pro se quisque precari coepere,[5] ne festinatione periculum augeret, sed esset in potestate medentium: inexperta remedia haud injuria ipsis esse suspecta, cum ad perniciem ejus etiam a latere ipsius[6] pecunia sollicitaret hostis. Quippe Dareus mille talenta interfectori Alexandri daturum se pronuntiari jusserat. Itaque ne ausurum quidem quemquam arbitrabantur experiri remedium, quod propter novitatem posset esse suspectum.

14. Erat inter nobiles medicos ex Macedonia regem secutus Philippus, natione Acarnan,[7] fidus admodum regi: puero comes et custos salutis datus, non ut regem modo, sed etiam ut alumnum, eximia caritate diligebat. Is non praeceps se, sed strenuum remedium afferre, tantamque vim morbi potione medicata[8] levaturum esse promisit. Nulli promissum ejus placebat praeter ipsum, cujus periculo pollicebatur.[9] Omnia quippe facilius, quam moram, perpeti poterat: arma et acies in oculis erant, et victoriam in eo positam esse arbitrabatur, si tantum ante signa stare potuisset, id ipsum, quod post diem tertium medicamentum sumpturus esset (ita enim medicus praedixerat) aegre ferens. Inter haec a Parmenione, fidissimo purpuratorum[10] litteras

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[1] 'I think I hear.' *Exaudire* is stronger than the simple *audire*, and is properly applied to that which is heard from a distance, but yet distinctly.

[2] No doubt in the commencement of the war. Curtius must have related this in the Second Book, which is lost.

[3] 'He had my bad luck among his councillors.' Alexander says that just as a general calls to his council faithful and experienced friends, so Darius had taken advice from his (Alexander's) bad luck; that is, had formed his plans calculating on that.

[4] 'To have medical treatment.'

[5] *Precari*, stronger than *rogare*, or *orare*.

[6] 'People even about his own person.'

[7] A native of Acarnania, the most westerly division of Greece, between the Ambracian Gulf and the river Achelous. Principal towns, *Stratos* and *Argos* (called, for distinction, the Amphilochian).

[8] 'A medicated draught,' or simply 'a medicine.'

[9] 'At whose hazard he (the physician) made it' (the promise).

[10] See chap. v. note 1.

accipit, quibus ei denuntiabat[1] ne salutem suam Philippo committeret: mille talentis a Dareo et spe nuptiarum sororis ejus esse corruptum. Ingentem animo sollicitudinem litterae incusserant, et quicquid in utramque partem aut metus aut spes subjecerat, secreta aestimatione pensabat. Bibere perseverem?[2] ut, si venenum datum fuerit, ne immerito quidem, quicquid acciderit, evenisse videatur? Damnem medici fidem? in tabernaculo ergo me opprimi patiar? At satius est alieno me mori scelere, quam metu nostro. Diu animo in diversa versato, nulli quid scriptum esset enuntiat, epistolamque sigillo anuli sui impresso pulvino, cui incumbebat, subjecit.

15. Inter has cogitationes biduo absumpto, illuxit a medico destinatus dies, et ille cum poculo, in quo medicamentum diluerat, intravit. Quo viso Alexander levato corpore[3] in cubili, epistolam a Parmenione missam sinistra manu tenens, accipit poculum, et haurit interritus: tum[4] epistolam Philippum legere jubet, nec a vultu legentis movit oculos, ratus, aliquas conscientiae notas in ipso ore posse[5] deprehendere. Ille, epistola perlecta, plus indignationis quam pavoris ostendit: projectisque amiculo et litteris ante lectum, Rex, inquit, semper quidem spiritus meus ex te pependit, sed nunc vere, arbitror, sacro et venerabili ore trahitur.[6] Crimen parricidii, quod mihi objectum est, tua salus diluet. Servatus a me vitam mihi dederis: oro quaesoque, amisso[7] metu patere medicamentum concipi venis: laxa paulisper[8] animum, quem intempestiva sollicitudine amici sane fideles, sed moleste seduli turbant. Non securum modo haec vox, sed etiam laetum regem ac plenum bonae spei fecit. Itaque, si Dii, inquit, Philippe, tibi permisissent, quo modo maxime

[1] This verb implies both warning and threat; that is, he warned Alexander not to trust Philip, and told him at the same time to punish the physician.

[2] Regarding this subjunctive, see *Gram.* § 349.

[3] 'Having raised himself.' Instead of the reflective pronoun *se*, we have *corpus*.

[4] Alexander first drank the medicine without any signs of alarm, and then handed to the physician the letter which accused him—a token at once of the greatest confidence in Philip, and of but slight respect for Parmenio. Compare vi. 40.

[5] For *se posse*. The omission of the reflective pronoun in the construction of the accusative with the infinitive is not rare in Curtius. See *Gram.* § 385.

[6] 'My breath is drawn from thy mouth;' that is, my life depends on yours.

[7] *Amittere* commonly denotes an involuntary act, 'to lose' without one's will. Here *amisso metu patere* being the same as *amitte metum et patere*, clearly expresses an act of volition, 'to put away,' or 'remove.'

[8] 'For a short time.'

velles animum experiri meum,[1] alio profecto voluisses, sed certiore quam expertus es, ne optasses quidem. Hac epistola accepta, tamen quod dilueras bibi: et nunc crede, me non minus pro tua fide, quam pro mea salute esse sollicitum.[2] Haec locutus dextram Philippo offert.

16. Ceterum tanta vis medicamenti fuit, ut quae secuta sunt criminationem Parmenionis adjuverint. Interclusus spiritus arte meabat.[3] Nec Philippus quicquam inexpertum omisit. Ille fomenta corpori admovit; ille torpentem nunc cibi, nunc vini odore excitavit. Atque ut primum mentis compotem esse sensit, modo matris sororumque, modo tantae victoriae appropinquantis admonere non destitit. Ut vero medicamentum se diffudit in venas, et sensim toto corpore salubritas percipi potuit, primum animus vigorem suum, deinde corpus quoque expectatione maturius recuperavit: quippe post tertium diem[4] quam in hoc statu fuerat, in conspectum militum venit. Nec avidius ipsum regem, quam Philippum, intuebatur exercitus: pro se quisque[5] dextram ejus amplexi grates habebant velut praesenti deo. Namque haud facile dictu est, praeter ingenitam illi genti erga reges suos venerationem, quantum hujus utique[6] regis vel admirationi dediti fuerint, vel caritate flagraverint. Jam primum nihil sine divina ope aggredi videbatur; nam cum praesto esset[7] ubique fortuna, temeritas in gloriam cesserat.[8] Aetas quoque vix tantis matura rebus, sed abunde sufficiens, omnia ejus opera honestabat.[9] Et quae leviora haberi solent, ple-

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[1] 'To try my attachment and confidence in whatever way pleased you most.'

[2] 'Be convinced that I am concerned not less for your honour, than for the restoration of my health;' that is, one great reason for my wishing the recovery of my wonted health is, that your fidelity may be proved spotless.

[3] 'The respiration being impeded, was weak.'

[4] 'On the third day thereafter.' See *Gram.* § 308, note 4.

[5] 'Every one for himself.' The eagerness of every one to anticipate his neighbour in the display of gratitude to the preserver of their sovereign is very beautifully expressed by the combination *quisque pro se*. *Grates habere* is not a common expression. The usual phrases are *gratias* (or *grates*) *agere*, to express gratitude, *gratiam habere*, to feel it. In this passage both are mixed up. They expressed their gratitude, not in speeches, however, but by a fervent grasp of the hand.

[6] 'Especially,' or 'particularly.'

[7] *Praesto sum*, 'I am, or stand, ready to execute every command,' therefore 'I serve,' or 'obey.' *Praesto* is reckoned an indeclinable adjective.

[8] 'Had passed over;' that is, was changed.

[9] His youth beautified all his deeds, and gave them an air of elegance and grace.

rumque in re militari gratiora vulgo sunt, exercitatio corporis inter ipsos, cultus[1] habitusque paulum a privato abhorrens, militaris vigor; quis ille vel ingenii dotibus, vel animi artibus,[2] ut pariter carus ac venerandus esset, effecerat.

17. At Dareus, nuntio de adversa valetudine ejus accepto, celeritate,[3] quantam capere tam grave agmen poterat, ad Euphraten contendit, junctoque eo pontibus, quinque tamen diebus trajecit exercitum, Ciliciam occupare festinans. Jam Alexander, viribus corporis receptis, ad urbem Solos pervenerat: cujus potitus, ducentis talentis multae nomine[4] exactis, arci praesidium militum imposuit. Vota deinde pro salute suscepta per ludum atque otium reddens,[5] ostendit, quanta fiducia barbaros sperneret: quippe Aesculapio et Minervae ludos celebravit. Spectanti nuntius laetus affertur Halicarnasso, Persas acie a suis esse superatos, Myndios quoque et Caunios et pleraque tractus ejus suae facta dicionis. Igitur edito spectaculo ludicro[6] castrisque motis, et Pyramo amne ponte juncto, ad urbem Mallon pervenit: inde alteris castris ad oppidum Castabulum. Ibi Parmenio regi occurrit, quem praemiserat ad explorandum iter saltus, per quem ad urbem Isson nomine penetrandum erat. Atque ille angustiis ejus occupatis, et praesidio modico relicto, Isson quoque desertam a barbaris ceperat. Inde progressus, deturbatis qui interiora montium obsidebant, praesidiis cuncta firmavit, occupatoque itinere, sicut paulo ante dictum est, idem et auctor et nuntius venit. Isson deinde rex copias admovit: ubi consilio habito,

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[1] *Cultus* is the arrangement and regulation of the outward man, and includes everything connected with these, except eating and drinking. It includes, therefore, habitation, furniture, bath, dress, &c. The last is a very common signification. We may then take it here in the meaning of 'dress' (in which we include arms), or more widely, we may translate it 'private arrangements.' As to *habitus*, see chap. 6, note 2.

[2] By *vel-vel*, the author leaves it undecided whether these attributes were the gifts of nature, or were acquired. The result was the same.

[3] Supply *tanta*.

[4] *Nomine* can here be translated quite literally, 'under the name of a fine;' that is, as a punishment. But this expression is very often used in the sense of 'on account of,' or 'on the part of.' See Zumpt, § 679.

[5] People, when in any danger, used naturally to vow offerings to the gods, and where there was no such vow, it was customary to give some token of thanks to Heaven after deliverance from danger. The Greek mode of expressing such gratitude was by games. *Per ludum et otium* is not used for the instrumental ablative, but expresses the kind and manner, 'in or with games, and relaxation from labour.'

[6] 'Exhibition of games.' *Ludicrum* is used by itself also in this sense. The existence of the nom. masc. of this adjective is uncertain.

utrumne[1] ultra progrediendum foret, an ibi opperiendi essent novi milites, quos ex Macedonia adventare constabat, Parmenio non alium locum proelio aptiorem esse censebat. Quippe illic utriusque regis copias numero futuras pares, cum angustiae multitudinem non caperent; planitiem ipsis[2] camposque esse vitandos, ubi circumiri, ubi ancipiti acie opprimi possent. Timere, ne non[3] virtute hostium, sed lassitudine sua vincerentur. Persas recentes subinde successuros, si laxius stare potuissent. Facile ratio tam salubris consilii accepta est. Itaque inter angustias saltus hostem opperiri statuit.

18. Erat in exercitu regis Sisenes Perses: quondam a praetore Aegypti missus ad Philippum, donisque et omni honore cultus, exilium patria sede mutaverat:[4] secutis deinde in Asiam Alexandrum, inter fideles socios habebatur. Huic epistolam Cretensis miles obsignatam anulo, cujus signum haud sane notum erat, tradidit. Nabarzanes praetor Darei miserat eam, hortabaturque Sisenem, ut dignum aliquid nobilitate atque moribus suis ederet, magno id ei apud regem honori fore. Has litteras Sisenes, utpote innoxius[5] ad Alexandrum saepe deferre temptavit; sed cum tot curis apparatuque belli regem videret urgeri, aptius subinde[6] tempus expectans, suspicionem initi scelesti consilii praebuit. Namque epistola, priusquam ei redderetur, in manus Alexandri pervenerat, lectamque eam, ignoti anuli sigillo impresso, Siseni dari jusserat, ad aestimandam fidem barbari. Qui quia per complures dies non adierat regem, scelesto consilio eam visus est suppressisse, et in agmine a Cretensibus, haud dubie jussu regis, occisus.

19. Jamque Graeci milites, quos Thymodes a Pharnabazo acceperat, praecipua spes et propemodum unica, ad Dareum pervenerant. Hi magnopere suadebant, ut retro abiret, spatiososque Mesopotamiae campos repeteret: si id consilium

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[1] Equivalent to *utrum* without *ne*. See *Gram.* § 197, 10, note 1. According to the original construction of this phrase, it might have been, *utrum progrediendumne esset ultra, an novi ibi milites opperiendi*, which must be explained by reference to a fuller form of the sentence: *utrum faceret, ultrane progrederetur, an ibi opperiretur*.

[2] 'By themselves;' that is, the Macedonians, in opposition to the Persians.

[3] *Ne non* does not here stand for *ut;* but *non* belongs to *virtute hostium* in opposition to *lassitudine sua*. 'He feared lest they should be conquered, not certainly by the valour of the enemy, but by their own fatigue.'

[4] For construction of *mutare*, see *Gram.* § 294, note.

[5] Cicero uses *innocens* only, Curtius employs both *innocens* and *innoxius* with the same signification. *Innoxius*, however, has also a passive meaning, 'unhurt.'

[6] 'From time to time.'

damnaret, at ille[1] divideret saltem innumerabiles copias, neu[2] sub unum fortunae ictum totas vires regni cadere pateretur. Minus hoc regi, quam purpuratis ejus displicebat: ancipitem fidem, et mercede venalem proditionem imminere, et dividi non ob aliud copias velle, quam ut ipsi in diversa digressi, si quid commissum esset,[3] traderent Alexandro. Nihil tutius fore, quam circumdatos eos exercitu toto obrui telis, documentum non inultae perfidiae futuros. At Dareus, ut erat sanctus[4] ac mitis, se vero tantum facinus negat esse facturum, ut suam secutos fidem, suos milites, jubeat trucidari. Quem deinde amplius nationum exterarum salutem suam crediturum sibi, si tot militum sanguine imbuisset manus? Neminem stolidum consilium capite luere debere. Defuturos enim qui suaderent, si suasisse periculosum esset. Denique ipsos cotidie ad se advocari in consilium, variasque sententias dicere, nec tamen melioris fidei haberi, qui prudentius suaserit. Itaque Graecis nuntiare[5] jubet, ipsum quidem benevolentiae illorum gratias agere, ceterum, si retro ire pergat, haud dubie regnum hostibus traditurum. Fama bella stare,[6] et eum, qui recedat, fugere credi. Trahendi vero belli vix ullam esse rationem. Tantae enim multitudini, utique cum jam hiems instaret, in regione vasta, et invicem a suis atque hoste vexata, non suffectura alimenta. Ne dividi quidem copias posse servato more majorum, qui universas vires discrimini bellorum semper obtulerint. Et hercule terribilem antea regem, et absentia sua ad vanam fiduciam elatum, postquam adventare se senserit, cautum pro temerario factum, delituisse inter angustias saltus[7] ritu ignobilium ferarum, quae strepitu praetereuntium audito, silvarum latebris se occuluerint. Jam etiam valetudinis simulatione frustrari[8] suos milites. Sed non amplius ipsum

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[1] See Zumpt, § 756.

[2] The same as *neve*.

[3] 'Whatever might be intrusted to them.' See Zumpt, § 740.

[4] 'Blameless,' 'of stainless conduct.' *Ut erat:* we speak in the same way: 'honourable as he was;' that is, according to his own honourable feelings.

[5] Regularly, *nuntiari*. But we can supply an accusative of those who were to convey the message. 'He commanded that some one should tell the Greeks.' This form of expression occurs in several passages of Curtius.

[6] 'Are supported by, or depend upon, fame:' fame is the keystone of wars. Therefore *fama* is a casual ablative. See *Gram.* § 291.

[7] Because Alexander had not crossed Cilicia to meet the Persians, but was waiting for them in a narrow, mountain-girt place, as Curtius has already told us.

[8] 'That he kept back, and defeated the wishes of his soldiers by the pretence of sickness.' *Valetudo* means 'state of health,' good or bad, *bona* or *mala*, more frequently when it stands alone, the latter.

esse passurum detrectare certamen. In illo specu, in quem pavidi recessissent, oppressurum esse cunctantes. Haec magnificentius jactata, quam verius.[1]

20. Ceterum pecunia omni rerumque pretiosissimis[2] Damascum Syriae cum modico praesidio militum missis, reliquas copias in Ciliciam duxit, insequentibus more patrio agmen conjuge ac matre. Virgines quoque cum parvo filio comitabantur patrem. Forte eadem nocte et Alexander ad fauces, quibus Syria aditur, et Dareus ad eum locum, quem Amanicas Pylas vocant, pervenit.[3] Nec dubitavere Persae, quin Isso relicta, quam ceperant, Macedones fugerent. Nam etiam saucii quidam et invalidi, qui agmen non poterant persequi, excepti erant. Quos omnes, instinctu purpuratorum, barbara feritate saevientium, praecisis adustisque manibus circumduci, ut copias suas noscerent, satisque omnibus spectatis nuntiare quae vidissent regi suo, jussit. Motis ergo castris, superat Pinarum amnem, in tergis, ut credebat, fugientium haesurus.

21. At illi, quorum amputaverat[4] manus, ad castra Macedonum penetrant, Dareum quanto maximo[5] cursu posset, sequi nuntiantes. Vix fides habebatur. Itaque speculatores in maritimas regiones praemissos explorare jubet, ipse adesset,[6] an praefectorum aliquis speciem praebuisset universi venientis exercitus. Sed cum speculatores reverterentur, procul ingens multitudo conspecta est. Ignes deinde totis campis collucere coeperunt, omniaque velut continenti incendio ardere visa:

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[1] In a comparison of this kind, the comparative form is used in Latin in both cases, in English only once. See *Gram.* § 89, note 1.

[2] For this mode of expression, see Zumpt, § 435.

[3] There are two passes by which the eastern countries are entered from Cilicia; one on the south, beside the sea, leads into Syria; near it, in Syria, is the city of Myriandrus. The other pass lies more to the north, and leads to the country along the Euphrates, and onward to Assyria. The former was called the Cilician or Syrian gate, the latter the Amanic. Alexander had entered the Cilician gate, in order to go to meet Darius (this is a different account from that given by Curtius in chap. 17), and was just leaving Cilicia with the main body of his troops, at the time that Darius was descending into it by the Amanic gate, and was by his advanced guard occupying Issus. He was accordingly partly in the rear of Alexander. Both armies made a countermarch, as they were no longer doubtful of the position of their enemies; and the result was, that the Macedonians faced the north-west, the Persians the south-east.

[4] Darius had certainly not done it himself; he had only issued the order. See Zumpt, § 713.

[5] For such a phrase as this, see Zumpt, § 689.

[6] For *utrum ipse adesset*, or *ipsene adesset*, see *Gram.* § 197, 10, note 1.

cum incondita multitudo maxime propter jumenta laxius tenderet. Itaque eo ipso loco metari suos castra jusserat,[1] laetus, quod omni expetierat voto, in illis potissimum angustiis decernendum fore.[2] Ceterum, ut solet fieri, cum ultimi discriminis tempus adventat, in sollicitudinem versa fiducia est. Illam ipsam fortunam, qua aspirante res tam prospere gesserat, verebatur, nec injuria ex his, quae tribuisset sibi, quam mutabilis esset, reputabat: unam superesse noctem, quae tanti discriminis moraretur eventum. Rursus occurrebat, majora periculis praemia, et sicut dubium esset, an vinceret,[3] ita illud utique[4] certum esse, honeste et cum magna laude moriturum. Itaque corpora milites curare jussit, ac deinde tertia vigilia[5] instructos et armatos esse. Ipse in jugum editi montis ascendit, multisque collucentibus facibus patrio more sacrificium diis praesidibus loci fecit. Jamque tertium, sicut praeceptum erat, signum tuba miles acceperat, itineri simul paratus ac proelio: strenueque jussi procedere, oriente luce pervenerunt ad angustias, quas occupare decreverant. Dareum triginta inde stadia abesse praemissi indicabant. Tunc consistere agmen jubet, armisque ipse sumptis aciem ordinat.

22. Dareo adventum hostium pavidi agrestes nuntiaverunt, vix credenti occurrere etiam, quos ut fugientes sequebatur. Ergo non mediocris omnium animos formido incesserat: quippe itineri quam proelio aptiores erant: raptimque arma capiebant. Sed ipsa festinatio discurrentium suosque ad arma vocantium majorem metum incussit. Alii in jugum montis evaserant, ut hostium agmen inde prospicerent; equos plerique frenabant. Discors exercitus, nec ad unum intentus imperium, vario tumultu cuncta turbaverat. Dareus initio jugum montis cum parte copiarum occupare statuit, et a fronte et a tergo circumiturus hostem, a mari quoque, quo dextrum ejus cornu tegebatur, alios objecturus, ut undique urgeret. Praeter haec viginti milia praemissa cum sagittariorum manu, Pinarum amnem, qui duo agmina interfluebat, transire, et objicere sese Macedonum copiis jusserat: si id praestare non possent, retrocedere in montes, et occulte circumire ultimos hostium. Ceterum destinata salubriter omni ratione potentior fortuna discussit:[6] quippe alii prae metu imperium exequi non aude-

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[1] *Jusserat*, for *jussit*, to express rapidity. See Zumpt, § 508.

[2] Curtius might have said *decernendum esse*.

[3] 'Whether he would not conquer.' The expression states a doubt, but implies also the probability of the affirmative. See Zumpt, § 354.

[4] 'At all events;' 'however matters may fall out.'

[5] That is, after midnight, as the night was divided into four equal watches.

[6] 'Shattered,' 'nullified.'

bant, alii frustra exequebantur, quia, ubi partes labant, summa turbatur.

23. Acies autem hoc modo stetit. Nabarzanes equitatu dextrum cornu tuebatur, additis funditorum sagittariorumque viginti fere milibus. In eodem Thymodes erat, Graecis peditibus mercede conductis triginta milibus praepositus. Hoc erat haud dubie robur exercitus, par Macedonicae phalangi acies. In laevo cornu Aristomedes Thessalus viginti milia barbarorum peditum habebat. In subsidiis pugnacissimas locaverat gentes. Ipsum regem in eodem cornu dimicaturum tria milia delectorum equitum, assueta corporis custodia,[1] et pedestris acies quadraginta milia sequebantur. Hyrcani deinde, Medique equites: his proximi ceterarum gentium, ultra eos dextra laevaque dispositi. Hoc agmen, sicut dictum est, instructum, sex milia jaculatorum funditorumque antecedebant. Quicquid in illis angustiis adiri poterat, impleverant copiae, cornuaque hinc ab jugo,[2] illinc a mari stabant, uxorem matremque regis et alium feminarum gregem in medium agmen acceperant.

24. Alexander phalangem, qua nihil apud Macedonas validius erat, in fronte constituit. Dextrum cornu Nicanor, Parmenionis filius, tuebatur: huic proximi stabant Coenos, et Perdiccas, et Meleager, et Ptolemaeus, et Amyntas, sui quisque agminis duces. In laevo, quod ad mare pertinebat, Craterus et Parmenio erant, sed Craterus Parmenioni parere jussus. Equites ab utroque cornu locati: dextrum Macedones Thessalis adjuncti, laevum Peloponnesii tuebantur. Ante hanc aciem posuerat funditorum manum, sagittariis admixtis. Thraces quoque et Cretenses ante agmen ibant, et ipsi[3] leviter armati. At his, qui praemissi a Dareo jugum montis insederant,[4] Agrianos opposuit, ex Graecia nuper advectos. Parmenioni autem praeceperat, ut quantum posset, agmen ad mare extenderet; quo longius abesset acies montibus, quos occupaverant barbari. At ille neque obstare venientibus, nec circumire praetergressos ausi, funditorum maxime aspectu territi profugerant: eaque res Alexandro tutum agminis latus,

[1] *Custodia* is the ablative: 'accustomed to the guardianship of his person:' that is, who usually protected his person. In regard to *assueta* with the dative or ablative, see *Gram.* § 301, note 2.

[2] From the summit of the mountains, on which the extremity of the left wing rested.

[3] 'Likewise,' like the slingers and archers. See Zumpt, § 698.

[4] These were threatening the right wing of the Macedonians. For that reason the Macedonian left wing was extended towards the sea, in order that the right might be able to draw further off from the mountains. This precaution, however, was rendered superfluous by the cowardice of the barbarians on the hills.

quod ne superne incesseretur timuerat, praestitit. Triginta et duo armatorum ordines ibant; neque enim latius extendi aciem patiebantur angustiae. Paulatim deinde laxare se sinus montium et majus spatium aperire coeperant, ita ut non pedes solum pluribus ordinibus[1] incedere, sed etiam lateribus circumfundi posset equitatus.

25. Jam in conspectu, sed extra teli jactum utraque acies erat, cum priores Persae inconditum et trucem sustulere clamorem. Redditur et a Macedonibus, major exercitus numero,[2] jugis montium vastisque saltibus repercussus: quippe semper circumjecta nemora petraeque, quantamcunque accepere vocem, multiplicato sono referunt. Alexander ante prima signa ibat, identidem[3] manu suos inhibens, ne suspensi,[4] acrius ob nimiam festinationem concitato spiritu, capesserent proelium. Cumque agmini obequitaret,[5] varia oratione, ut cujusque animis aptum erat, milites alloquebatur. Macedones, tot bellorum in Europa victores, ad subigendam Asiam atque ultima Orientis, non ipsius magis, quam suo ductu[6] profecti, inveteratae virtutis admonebantur. Illos terrarum orbis liberatores, emensosque[7] olim Herculis

[1] 'Men in the front rank.' As the ground widened, the Macedonians were able to extend the length of their front. The depth of the line was of course proportionally diminished. From thirty-two men, it came down to sixteen, and ultimately to eight. *Ordines*, in its usual signification, denotes those ranks of men which increase in length as the front line lengthens. But it may also be used, as here, in the sense of those lines the *number* of which corresponds with the number of men in the front rank.

[2] 'Greater than the number of the army;' that is, greater than, judging from the number of the army, was to be expected. The echo from the hills assisted the shout.

[3] 'Repeatedly,' 'several times.'

[4] Equivalent to *quibus suspensus esset spiritus*. 'Out of breath.' Compare ix. 29: *Ea res omnium animos expectatione suspenderat.*

[5] 'As he rode along the front of the line of march.'

[6] 'As much under their own, as his guidance.' Alexander told them that they had led themselves, inasmuch as their eagerness needed no leader.

[7] On account of the connection of this perfect participle with the following future infinitive (*imposituros esse*), it must be understood in a hypothetical sense: 'if once they had measured out the space between the boundaries of Heracles and Dionysus;' that is, had reached these boundaries. It is not probable that Alexander really communicated to the soldiers at this time the remote object of his expedition, but the author, knowing that his hero did actually reach the scene of the exploits of Bacchus, is at liberty to make him speak in this way. The boundaries (*termini*) of Hercules were his pillars, on each side of the Straits of Gibraltar. It is true that Alexander never visited these, but the reason was, that he died before he could carry out this part of his plan.

et Liberi patris terminos, non Persis modo, sed etiam omnibus gentibus imposituros jugum: Macedonum provincias Bactra et Indos fore. Minima esse, quae nunc intuerentur; sed omnia victoria aperiri. Non in praeruptis petris Illyriorum et Thraciae saxis sterilem laborem fore, spolia totius Orientis offerri. Vix gladio futurum opus, totam aciem suo pavore fluctuantem umbonibus[1] posse propelli. Victor ad haec Atheniensium Philippus pater invocabatur, domitaeque nuper Boeotiae et urbis in ea nobilissimae ad solum dirutae species repraesentabatur animis. Jam Granicum amnem, jam tot urbes, aut expugnatas, aut in fidem acceptas, omniaque, quae post tergum erant, strata, et pedibus ipsorum subjecta memorabat. Cum adierat Graecos, admonebat, ab his gentibus illata Graeciae bella Darei prius, deinde Xerxis insolentia, aquam ipsos terramque poscentium, ut neque fontium haustum, nec solitos cibos relinquerent deditis. Ab his templa ruinis et ignibus esse deleta, urbes eorum expugnatas, foedera divini humanique juris violata, referebat. Illyrios vero et Thracas, rapto vivere assuetos, aciem hostium auro purpuraque fulgentem intueri jubebat, praedam, non arma gestantem. Irent[2] et imbellibus feminis aurum viri eriperent. Aspera montium suorum juga, nudasque calles,[3] et perpetuo rigentes gelu, ditibus[4] Persarum campis agrisque mutarent.

26. Jam ad teli jactum pervenerant, cum Persarum equites ferociter in laevum cornu hostium invecti sunt: quippe Dareus equestri proelio decernere optabat, phalangem Macedonici exercitus robur esse conjectans. Jamque etiam dextrum Alexandri cornu circumibatur. Quod ubi Macedo conspexit, duabus alis equitum ad jugum montis jussis subsistere, ceteros in medium belli discrimen strenue transfert. Subductis deinde ex acie Thessalis equitibus, praefectum eorum occulte circumire tergum suorum jubet, Parmenionique conjungi, et quod is imperasset, impigre exequi. Jamque ipsi in medium Persarum[5] undique circumfusi egregie tuebantur;[6] sed conferti, et quasi cohaerentes, tela vibrare non poterant: simul erant emissa, in eosdem concurrentia

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[1] *Umbo* is the sharp-pointed boss which projects from the middle of a shield.

[2] 'They might go to it.' The subjunctive depends on *jubebat*, with an altered construction. See Zumpt, § 624. Compare *Gram.* § 370.

[3] *Callis*, 'a mountain path,' is used by Curtius as feminine, whilst other authors more frequently make it masculine.

[4] See Zumpt, § 102, note 1.

[5] Supply *illati*. 'Borne into the middle of the Persians.'

[6] 'They defended themselves manfully.' *Se* may be supplied, but it seems to be a military expression.

implicabantur;[1] levique et vano ictu pauca in hostem, plura in humum innoxia cadebant. Ergo comminus[2] pugnam coacti conserere, gladios impigre stringunt. Tum vero multum sanguinis fusum est. Duae quippe acies ita cohaerebant ut armis arma pulsarent, mucrones in ora dirigerent. Non timido, non ignavo cessare tum licuit: collato pede, quasi singuli inter se dimicarent, in eodem vestigio stabant, donec vincendo locum sibi facerent. Tum demum ergo promovebant gradum, cum hostem prostraverant. At illos novus excipiebat adversarius fatigatos; nec vulnerati, ut alias solent, acie poterant excedere, cum hostis instaret a fronte, a tergo sui urgerent.

27. Alexander non ducis magis, quam militis munia[3] exequebatur, opimum[4] decus caeso rege expetens. Quippe Dareus curru sublimis eminebat, et suis ad se tuendum, et hostibus ad incessendum ingens incitamentum. Ergo frater ejus Oxathres, cum Alexandrum instare ei cerneret, equites, quibus praeerat, ante ipsum currum regis objecit, armis et robore corporis multum super ceteros eminens, animo vero et pietate in paucissimis. Illo utique proelio clarus, alios improvide instantes prostravit, alios in fugam avertit. At Macedones (circa regem erant),[5] mutua adhortatione firmati, cum ipso in equitum agmen irrumpunt. Tum vero similis ruinae strages erat. Circa currum Dareï jacebant nobilissimi duces, ante oculos regis egregia morte defuncti, omnes in ora proni, sicut dimicantes procubuerant, adverso corpore vulneribus acceptis. Inter hos Atizyes, et Rheomithres, et Sataces praetor Aegypti, magnorum exercituum praefecti, noscitabantur: circa eos cumulata erat peditum equitumque obscurior turba. Macedonum quoque non quidem multi, sed promptissimi tamen caesi sunt: inter quos Alexandri dextrum femur leviter mucrone perstrictum est. Jamque qui Dareum vehebant equi, confossi hastis et dolore efferati, jugum quatere et regem curru excutere coeperant: cum ille, veritus ne vivus veniret in hostium potestatem, desilit, et in equum, qui ad hoc ipsum[6] sequebatur, impo-

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[1] 'The darts became entangled with each other, being aimed at the same persons.'

[2] This word is derived from *manus*. It is opposed to *eminus*, and means 'hand to hand,' 'at close quarters.'

[3] Regarding the forms of *munia*, see Zumpt, § 89. In the sense of 'duties,' it is equivalent to *munera*.

[4] This word was used in a special case, when the commander of one army vanquished the leader of another in single combat.

[5] An Asyndeton, to which we must supply *nam*.

[6] 'For this very purpose.' This implies that it was a very swift animal. It is said to have been a mare, whose foal was kept at the

nitur: insignibus quoque imperii, ne fugam proderent, indecore abjectis. Tum vero ceteri dissipantur metu, et qua[1] cuique ad fugam patebat via, erumpunt, arma jacientes, quae paulo ante ad tutelam corporum sumpserant: adeo pavor etiam auxilia formidat. Instabat fugientibus eques a Parmenione missus, et forte in illud cornu omnes fuga abstulerat. At in dextro Persae Thessalos equites vehementer urgebant. Jamque una ala ipso impetu proculcata[2] erat: cum Thessali, strenue circumactis equis dilapsi, rursus in proelium redeunt, sparsosque et incompositos victoriae fiducia barbaros ingenti caede prosternunt. Equi pariter equitesque Persarum serie laminarum[3] graves, agmen, quod celeritate maxime constat, aegre moliebantur:[4] quippe in circumagendis equis suis Thessali multos occupaverant.

28. Hac tam prospera pugna nuntiata, Alexander, non ante ausus persequi barbaros, utrimque jam victore instare fugientibus coepit. Haud amplius regem quam mille equites sequebantur, cum ingens multitudo hostium caderet. Sed quis aut in victoria, aut in fuga copias numerat? Agebantur ergo a tam paucis pecorum modo, et idem metus, qui cogebat fugere, fugientes morabatur. At Graeci, qui in Darei partibus steterant, Amynta duce (praetor hic Alexandri fuerat, tunc transfuga), abrupti a ceteris, haud sane fugientibus similes evaserant. Barbari longe diversam fugam intenderunt: alii, qua rectum iter in Persidem ducebat, quidam circuitu rupes saltusque montium occultos petivere, pauci castra Darei. Sed jam illa quoque victor intraverat, omni quidem opulentia ditia. Ingens auri argentique pondus, non belli, sed luxuriae apparatum, diripuerant milites. Cumque plus raperent, passim strata erant itinera vilioribus sarcinis, quas in comparatione meliorum avaritia contempserat. Jamque ad feminas perventum erat, quibus quo cariora ornamenta sunt, violentius detrahebantur; ne corporibus quidem vis ac libido parcebat. Omnia planctu tumultuque, prout cuique fortuna erat, repleverant, nec ulla facies mali deerat, cum per omnes ordines aetatesque victoris crudelitas ac licentia vagaretur. Tunc vero impotentis for-

place to which the king intended to flee, and which, consequently, urged by affection for its offspring, ran with unusual speed.

[1] 'Wherever any one found a way open for flight.' Regarding *qua*, see *Gram.* § 190.

[2] 'Ridden over.'

[3] 'Iron plates fitted into each other.'

[4] *Aegre moliri* is, 'to move a mass with difficulty.' The opinion of Curtius is, that a heavy cavalry is nearly useless for the particular objects of cavalry in general. *Constat* here means, 'is valuable,' or 'derives its importance from.'

tunae species conspici potuit, cum ii, qui cum Dareo[1] tabernaculum exornaverant, omni luxu et opulentia instructum, eadem illa Alexandro, quasi veteri domino, reservabant. Namque id solum intactum omiserant milites, ita tradito more, ut victorem victi regis tabernaculo exciperent.

29. Sed omnium oculos animosque in semet averterant[2] captivae mater conjunxque Darei: illa non majestate solum, sed etiam aetate venerabilis, haec formae pulchritudine, ne illa quidem sorte corruptae. Receperat in sinum filium nondum sextum annum aetatis egressum, in spem tantae fortunae, quantam pater ejus paulo ante amiserat, genitum. At in gremio anus aviae jacebant adultae duae virgines, non suo tantum, sed etiam illius maerore confectae. Ingens circa eam nobilium feminarum turba constiterat, laceratis crinibus, abscisaque veste,[3] pristini decoris immemores, reginas dominasque, veris quondam, tunc alienis[4] nominibus invocantes. Illae, suae calamitatis oblitae, in utro cornu Dareus stetisset, quae fortuna discriminis fuisset, requirebant. Negabant se captas, si viveret rex. . Sed illum equos subinde mutantem longius fuga abstulerat. In acie autem caesa sunt Persarum peditum centum milia, decem equitum. At a parte Alexandri quattuor et quingenti saucii fuere, ex peditibus triginta omnino et duo desiderati[5] sunt, equitum centum quinquaginta interfecti. Tantulo impendio ingens victoria stetit.[6]

30. Rex quidem, Dareum persequendo fatigatus, postquam et nox appetebat, et consequendi spes non erat, in castra paulo ante a suis eapta pervenit. Invitari deinde amicos, quibus maxime assueverat, jussit, quippe summa dumtaxat

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[1] 'With Darius;' that is, 'in the service of Darius.'

[2] From everything else.

[3] 'With torn garments.' *Abscisa*, from *abscindere*, whose supine *abscisum* is the same as that of *abscidere*. This sign of deep sorrow was a very common one in ancient times.

[4] 'Unsuitable.'

[5] That is, *Caesi*, *interfecti*. The smallness of the number of Macedonian infantry who were slain is surprising; and other authors give a larger number; Diodorus, for instance, 300. Even this is disproportionately small. We must, however, take into consideration the superiority afforded to the Macedonians by better arms, a closer order of battle, and greater skill in the art of war. We must not carry our doubts too far; otherwise we might at once doubt the truth of the whole story of Alexander's conquering Asia with such a small number of men. That Curtius himself was surprised, is indicated by the *omnino*, which, when placed after a numeral, is equivalent to *tantum*, 'only.'

[6] On the meaning and construction of *stare*, see *Gram.* § 294.

cutis in femine[1] perstricta non prohibebat interesse convivio: cum repente e proximo tabernaculo lugubris clamor, barbaro ululatu planctuque permixtus, epulantes conterruit. Cohors quoque, quae excubabat ad tabernaculum regis, verita, ne majoris motus principium esset, armare se coeperat. Causa subiti pavoris fuit, quod mater uxorque Darei cum captivis[2] nobilibus regem, quem interfectum esse credebant, ingenti gemitu ejulatuque deflebant. Unus namque[3] e captivis spadonibus, qui forte ante ipsarum tabernaculum steterat, amiculum, quod Dareus, sicut paulo ante dictum est, ne cultu[4] proderetur, abjecerat, in manibus ejus, qui repertum ferebat, agnovit, ratusque interfecto detractum esse, falsum nuntium mortis ejus attulerat. Hoc mulierum errore comperto, Alexander fortunae Darei et pietati earum illacrimasse fertur. Ac primo Mithrenem, qui Sardis[5] tradiderat, peritum linguae Persicae, ire ad consolandas eas jusserat. Veritus deinde, ne proditor captivarum iram doloremque renovaret, Leonnatum ex purpuratis suis misit, jussum indicare, falso lamentari eas vivum. Ille cum paucis armigeris in tabernaculum, in quo captivae erant, pervenit, missumque se a rege nuntiare[6] jubet. At hi, qui in vestibulo erant, ut armatos conspexere, rati actum esse de dominis, in tabernaculum currunt, vociferantes, adesse supremam horam, missosque qui occiderent captas. Itaque, ut quae[7] nec prohibere possent, nec admittere auderent, nullo responso dato tacitae opperiebantur victoris arbitrium. Leonnatus, expectato diu[8] qui se introduceret, postquam nemo procedere audebat, relictis in vestibulo satellitibus, intrat in tabernaculum. Ea ipsa res turbaverat feminas, quod irrupisse, non admissus, videbatur. Itaque mater et conjunx provolutae ad pedes, orare coeperunt, ut, priusquam interficerentur, Darei corpus ipsis patrio more sepelire permitteret: functas supremo in regem officio

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[1] Besides *femur, oris*, the thigh, the form (*femen*) *feminis* is used. Its nominative, however, *femen*, does not occur.

[2] From the nominative *captiva*.

[3] Whilst *nam* is in prose always placed first, we usually find *namque* after the first accented word.

[4] Equivalent to *veste*, implying, however, that the cloak was adorned in a manner suitable for so great a monarch.

[5] In the accusative of this word the form *is* remained, even when in other nouns it was superseded by *es*. In Greek the name is Σάρδεις.

[6] An accusative must be supplied as subject to *nuntiare*—namely, that of the person to whom was intrusted the duty of introducing strangers to the princesses. In Rome such a confidential servant was called the *atriensis*.

[7] 'Because they;' literally, 'as who.'

[8] Supply *eo*, a servant to conduct him to the royal ladies.

impigre[1] sese morituras. Leonnatus, et vivere Dareum, et ipsas non incolumes modo, sed etiam apparatu pristinae fortunae[2] reginas fore. Tum demum Darei mater allevari se passa est.

31. Alexander postero die cum cura[3] sepultis militibus, quorum corpora invenerat, Persarum quoque nobilissimis eundem honorem haberi jubet, matrique Darei permitti, quos vellet, patrio more sepeliret.[4] Illa paucos arta propinquitate conjunctos pro habitu praesentis fortunae humari[5] jussit, apparatum funerum, quo Persae suprema officia celebrarent invidiosum fore existimans, cum victores haud pretiose cremarentur. Jamque justis[6] defunctorum corporibus solutis, praemittit ad captivas, qui nuntiarent, ipsum venire: inhibitaque comitantium turba tabernaculum cum Hephaestione intrat. Is longe omnium amicorum carissimus erat regi, cum ipso pariter eductus,[7] secretorum omnium arbiter: libertates[8] quoque in admonendo eo non alius jus habebat, quod tamen ita usurpabat, ut magis a rege permissum, quam vindicatum[9] ab eo videretur; et sicut aetate par erat regi, ita corporis habitu praestabat. Ergo reginae illum esse regem ratae, suo more veneratae sunt.[10] Inde ex captivis spadonibus[11] quis Alexander esset monstrantibus, Sisygambis advoluta est pedibus ejus, ignorationem nunquam antea visi regis excusans. Quam manu allevans rex, non errasti, inquit, mater, nam et hic Alexander est.[12]

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[1] 'Without delay.'

[2] 'So far as regarded the pomp or dignity of their former rank.'

[3] As to the difference between the simple ablat. of concomitance and the ablat. with *cum*, see *Gram.* § 293.

[4] With verbs of permitting, the subjunctive is used either with or without *ut*.

[5] 'To be interred.' This was the *patrius mos* of the Persians; for they considered the burning of dead bodies, which was usual amongst the Greeks, to be an act of the grossest impiety—fire being in their opinion a divine essence.

[6] *Justa* (a *plurale tantum*, meaning 'all the regular funeral rites') *solvere*, to fulfil; as it were to pay a debt which we owe to the deceased.

[7] 'Brought up.' It remains uncertain whether he was associated with Alexander in bodily exercises, or in studies for the information and improvement of the mind. In the latter sense *educare* is commonly used.

[8] 'Frankness,' 'candour.'

[9] 'Assumed.'

[10] *Venerari*, when it refers to outward conduct, consists in falling upon the ground at a person's feet. The Greeks called this προσκυνεῖν, and considered it an act unworthy of a freeman. It was, and still is, a common custom amongst Asiatics when in presence of their rulers.

[11] 'Of the eunuchs.' Supply to the participle in the ablative *quibusdam*, 'some.'

[12] A beautiful thought beautifully expressed: according to the old

32. Equidem hac continentia animi si ad ultimum vitae[1] perseverare potuisset, feliciorem fuisse crederem, quam visus est esse, cum Liberi patris imitaretur triumphum, usque ab Hellesponto ad Oceanum[2] omnes gentes victoria emensus. Sic vicisset profecto superbiam atque iram, mala invicta: sic abstinuisset inter epulas caedibus amicorum, egregiosque bello viros, et tot gentium secum domitores, indicta causa veritus esset occidere.[3] Sed nondum fortuna se animo ejus superfuderat:[4] itaque orientem eam moderate et prudenter tulit ad ultimum magnitudinem ejus non cepit. Tunc quidem ita se gessit, ut omnes ante eum reges et continentia et clementia vinceret. Virgines reginas[5] excellentis formae tam sancte habuit, quam si eodem quo ipse parente genitae forent[6] conjugem ejusdem, quam nulla aetatis suae pulchritudine corporis vicit, adeo ipse non violavit, ut summam adhibuerit curam, ne quis captivo corpori illuderet:[7] omnem cultum reddi feminis jussit, nec quicquam ex pristinae fortunae magnificentia captivis, praeter fiduciam, defuit. Itaque Sisygambis, rex, inquit, mereris, ut ea precemur tibi, quae Dareo nostro quondam precatae sumus: et, ut video, dignus es,[8] qui tantum regem non felicitate solum, sed etiam aequitate superaveris. Tu quidem matrem me et reginam vocas: sed ego me tuam famulam esse confiteor. Et praeteritae fortunae fastigium capio[9] et praesentis jugum pati possum: tua interest,[10] quantum in nos licuerit, si id potius

saying, that friends are one soul in two bodies; a friend is a second self.

[1] 'Till the end of his life.' *Ultimum*, a neuter with the genitive —'the extreme,' 'the last part.' See *Gram.* § 313.

[2] A more usual expression would have been *usque ad Oceanum*. *Usque* always indicates the uninterruptedness of any series of actions either in regard to space or time. Here, for example, 'from the Hellespont, as it were, in one continued march of conquest, to the ocean.'

[3] *Vereri*, with the infinitive. See *Gram.* § 352, note 2.

[4] Beautifully expressed. 'His good fortune had not yet poured itself over his heart;' that is, had not yet, as it were, *flooded* his heart, and swept away all his finer feelings.

[5] 'The unmarried princess.' In Latin, even the daughters of kings are called *reginae*.

[6] Exactly equivalent here to *essent*.

[7] 'Should insult;' namely, by proposals to them to become traitors to Darius.

[8] 'You are worthy (of our praying for you), since you,' &c. See *Gram.* § 360, 2.

[9] 'I take—that is, understand—and can show myself worthy of my former high rank.'

[10] 'It interests you;' that is, 'your own noble nature compels you —to wish it known that you exercised your power over us with

clementia, quam saevitia, vis esse testatum. Rex bonum animum habere eas jussit, Darei filium collo suo admovit: atque nihil ille conspectu tum primum a se visi conterritus, cervicem ejus manibus amplectitur. Motus ergo rex constantia[1] pueri, Hephaestionem intuens, quam vellem,[2] inquit, Dareus aliquid ex hac indole hausisset!

33. Tum tabernaculo egressus, tribus aris in ripa Pinari amnis Jovi atque Herculi Minervaeque sacratis, Syriam petit, Damascum, ubi regis gaza erat, Parmenione praemisso. Atque cum praecessisse Darei satrapam comperisset,[3] veritus ne paucitas suorum sperneretur, accersere majorem manum statuit. Sed forte in exploratores ab eo praemissos incidit natione Mardus, qui ad Parmeniona perductus, litteras ad Alexandrum a praefecto Damasci missas tradit ei, nec dubitare eum quin[4] omnem regiam supellectilem cum pecunia traderet, adjecit. Parmenio, asservari eo jusso, litteras aperit: in quis[5] erat scriptum, ut mature Alexander aliquem ex ducibus suis mitteret cum manu exigua. Itaque Mardum datis comitibus ad proditorem remittit. Ille e manibus custodientium lapsus, Damascum ante lucem intrat. Turbaverat ea res Parmenionis animum insidias timentis, et ignotum iter sine duce non audebat ingredi: felicitati tamen regis sui confisus, agrestes, qui duces itineris essent, excipi jussit. Quibus celeriter repertis, quarto die ad urbem pervenit, jam metuente praefecto, ne sibi fides habita non esset. Igitur quasi parum munimentis oppidi fidens, ante solis ortum pecuniam regiam (gazam Persae vocant), cum pretiosissimis rerum[6] efferri jubet, fugam simulans, re vera, ut praedam hosti offerret.

34. Multa milia virorum feminarumque excedentem oppido sequebantur, omnibus miserabilis turba, praeter eum, cujus fidei commissa erat. Quippe[7] quo major proditionis merces foret, objicere hosti parabat gratiorem omni pecunia praedam, nobiles viros, praetorum Darei conjuges liberosque, praeter hos Graecarum urbium[8] legatos, quos Dareus velut

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clemency rather than severity.' *Testatum esse volo*, 'I wish to see a thing known or borne witness to.' As to *testatus* in a passive sense, see *Gram.* § 139, note 2.

[1] 'Confiding boldness.'

[2] 'How much I should have wished!'

[3] Parmenio is the subject of this verb.

[4] *Dubito*, in the meaning 'I doubt,' is followed by the infinitive; but *non dubito* is construed also with *quin*. See *Gram.* § 352, note 4.

[5] For *quibus*; a very common form in Curtius.

[6] See above, chap. 20, at the beginning.

[7] Equivalent to *nam*.

[8] It should properly perhaps be *civitatum*, as the inhabitants are

in arce tutissima, in proditoris reliquerat manibus. Gangabas Persae vocant humeris onera portantes:[1] hi cum tolerare[2] non possent, quippe et procella subito nivem effuderat, et humus rigebat gelu, tum astrictas[3] vestes, quas cum pecunia portabant, auro et purpura insignes, induunt, nullo prohibere auso, cum fortuna regis etiam humillimis in ipsum licentiam faceret. Praebuere ergo Parmenioni non spernendi agminis speciem: qui intentiore cura suos, quasi ad justum proelium paucis adhortatus, equis calcaria jubet subdere, et acri impetu in hostem evehi. At illi, qui sub oneribus erant, omissis per metum, capessunt fugam: armati quoque, qui eos prosequebantur,[4] eodem metu arma jactare, ac nota diverticula[5] petere coeperunt. Praefectus, quasi et ipse conterritus, simulans[6] cuncta pavore compleverat. Jacebant totis campis opes regiae, illa pecunia stipendio ingenti militum praeparata, ille cultus tot nobilium virorum, tot illustrium feminarum, aurea vasa, aurei freni, tabernacula regali magnificentia ornata, vehicula quoque a suis destituta, ingentis opulentiae plena, facies etiam praedantibus tristis, si qua res avaritiam moraretur.[7] Quippe tot annorum incredibili et fidem excedente fortuna cumulata, tunc alia stirpibus lacerata, alia in coenum demersa eruebantur:[8] non sufficiebant praedantium manus praedae.

35. Jamque etiam ad eos, qui primi fugerant, ventum erat: feminae pleraeque[9] parvos trahentes liberos ibant. Inter quas fuere virginis, Ochi, qui ante Dareum regnaverat, filiae, olim quidem ex fastigio paterno rerum mutatione detractae, sed tum sortem earum crudelius aggravante fortuna. In eodem grege uxor quoque ejusdem Ochi fuit, Oxathrisque (frater hic erat Darei) filia, et conjunx Artabazi, principis purpuratorum, et filius, cui Ilioneo fuit nomen. Pharnabazi quoque, cui summum imperium maritimae orae

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meant, not the buildings. But sometimes, when a state coincides with a city, the term proper to the one is also used for the other

[1] That is, porters.

[2] 'As they could not endure'—supply, 'the weight of their burdens.' They were benumbed. It was the winter season, near the end of 333 B. C., and the winters are severe in that part of Syria.

[3] 'Tied up.'

[4] 'Escorted' as a guard.

[5] 'Bye-paths.'

[6] Appearing to be frightened himself, he produced fear.

[7] The greedy conquerors did not take time to make such a reflection.

[8] 'Were sought out, and picked up.' The verb is connected with *demersa*, but belongs also, though not so appropriately, to *lacerata*. See Zumpt, § 775.

[9] 'Most of them leading their little children by the hand.'

rex dederat, uxor cum filio excepta est, Mentoris filiae tres, ac nobilissimi ducis Memnonis conjunx et filius. Vixque ulla domus purpurati expers fuit tantae cladis. Lacedaemonii et Athenienses societatis fide violata[1] Persas secuti: Aristogiton et Dropides et Iphicrates, inter Athenienses genere famaque longe clarissimi, Lacedaemonii Pausippus et Onomastorides, cum Monimo et Callicrátide, hi quoque domi nobiles.[2] Summa pecuniae signatae fuit talentum[3] duo milia et sexcenta, facti[4] argenti pondus quingenta aequabat. Praeterea triginta milia hominum, cum septem milibus jumentorum, dorso[5] onera portantium, capta sunt. Ceterum tantae fortunae proditorem superi ultores celeriter debita poena persecuti sunt. Namque unus e consciis ejus, credo, regis vicem[6] etiam in illa sorte reveritus, interfecti proditoris caput ad Dareum tulit, opportunum solatium prodito: quippe et ultus inimicum erat, et nondum in omnium animis memoriam majestatis suae exolevisse[7] cernebat.

[1] Athens was connected with the king of Macedonia by a public treaty, Sparta was not. But the private feeling of the Athenians was hatred to the Macedonian supremacy.

[2] 'Noble in their own native city by their birth.' This kind of nobility, enjoyed only in a particular place, is not universally recognised. It has narrow limits.

[3] The usual form for *talentorum*. See *Gram.* § 58, note 5.

[4] 'Wrought silver.'

[5] *Dorsum* is the back of animals, *tergum* that of human beings.

[6] 'The place,' 'position,' inasmuch as he executed the king's office of punishing criminals.

[7] 'To be extinguished,' 'to disappear.'



LIBER IV.

(1) After the battle of Issus, Darius flees across the Euphrates. Alexander commits the subjugation of Syria to Parmenio. He himself undertakes the reduction of the Phoenician cities, and comes to Marathus. (2) There he receives a haughty letter from Darius, and returns a fierce answer, retorting upon the Persians the charge of unprovoked hostility, and summoning the king to submission. (3) Byblos and Sidon surrender. The king of Sidon, a favourer of the Persians, is deposed; and Hephaestion, who is intrusted with the choice of another, considers a poor man called Abdalonymus most worthy of the dignity. (4) Abdalonymus is taken from the midst of his poverty and introduced to Alexander, who is pleased with his modesty. (5) Amyntas, a Macedonian who had deserted to Darius, crosses over with a considerable number of Greek mercenaries to Egypt, intending to make himself master of that province: he is at first successful, but is afterwards surprised and slain near Memphis by Mazaces the Persian commander. (6) In Asia Minor the Macedonian governors maintain their ground, notwithstanding several attempts of the Persians to recover the countries in the rear of Alexander. Agis, king of Sparta, in conjunction with the Persian fleet in the Aegean, endeavours to destroy the Macedonian supremacy in Greece. (7) Alexander himself, in the end of 333 B.C., marches against Tyre. The Tyrians refuse him admission into their island city. (8) They rely on its situation and strength, and are confirmed in their hopes of security by the promised aid of the Carthaginians. (9) Preparations are made, and omens observed, on both sides. The Tyrians kill the king's heralds. (10) Alexander begins to erect a mole from the mainland across the strait towards the island. (11) The Tyrians endeavour by every means to prevent this work. (12) During the absence of Alexander in Arabia, they burn the towers on the mole, and at the same time a storm destroys the whole structure. (13) Alexander builds another mole, and collects at the same time a fleet of 180 ships, (14) from which he assaults the walls; but his attempt is rendered fruitless by a storm. (15) Not being relieved by the Carthaginians, the Tyrians rest upon superstitious hopes, (16) and in their necessity devise new means of defence. (17) Alexander builds more ships. The same prodigy is interpreted by the Tyrians and Macedonians in different ways. (18) A naval battle is fought. The Tyrians are at first successful, but in the end their fleet is destroyed. (19) On the third day afterwards the city is stormed on all sides, and taken. The inhabitants refuse to submit, defend themselves in their houses, and are nearly all cut down. The Sidonians, however, save a considerable number. (20) Thus sank

the famed city of Tyre, in the seventh month of the siege, and about the middle of 332 B.C. It rose again afterwards, particularly during the peace afforded it by the Roman government. (21) Another letter arrives from Darius, in which he offers Alexander his daughter's hand in marriage, and the possession of Asia Minor as far as the Halys. Alexander refuses the offer. (22) Rhodes submits. Provincial governors are appointed. The Greek states at the Isthmian Games decree a golden crown to the king of Macedon. (23) The Macedonian fleet in the Aegean obtains possession of Chios, and Pharnabazus, the Persian commander, is taken. (24) Aristonicus, tyrant of Methymna, is taken. Mitylene surrenders. (25) In the meantime Darius is making new preparations for war, and summons to him Bessus, satrap of Bactra, though he mistrusts him. Alexander cannot obtain any knowledge of Darius's movements. (26) He lays siege to Gaza. His engines are obstructed by the nature of the ground. He wishes to storm the town, but gives up his design, in consequence of an augury. (27) He does not, however, escape a wound, of which he has been forewarned. (28) The regular siege is again prosecuted, and the town is at last taken by a breach. Alexander receives a second wound. Betis, the gallant and resolute governor of the city, is taken, maintains his proud bearing even as a captive, and is horribly treated by Alexander. (29) From Gaza Alexander goes to Egypt. He is willingly received by the natives, and the Persian garrisons surrender. Alexander is very desirous of visiting the temple of Jupiter Hammon, notwithstanding the difficulties of the journey. (30) He accordingly sails down the Nile to the lake Mareotis, and there, in the beginning of 331 B.C., commences his march across the desert. (31) The delightful oasis, the sanctuary, and the image of the god are described. (32) Alexander interrogates the oracle, and is acknowledged in the response as the son of the god; his companions, too, are directed to honour him as such. (33) Alexander, on his return, chooses out on the point of land between the island of Pharos and Lake Mareotis a site for a new city, Alexandria. He wishes ardently to see the wonders of Upper Egypt, but the war presses: he settles the government of the country, and leaves it. (34) In the passage of the Nile, Hector, the son of Parmenio, loses his life. The revolted Samaritans and other enemies are chastised. Ambassadors come to the king from several Greek states. The army leaves Syria for the Euphrates. (35) Darius assembles his troops in Babylon, arms them completely, and prepares a number of scythe-chariots. (36) He marches through Mesopotamia, crosses the Tigris, leaves a part of his baggage at Arbela, leads his army over the Lycus as far as the Bumelus, and there pitches his camp in an extensive plain. (37) Alexander crosses the Euphrates near Thapsacus, and reaches the Tigris; whilst the Persian general, Mazaeus, who has been appointed to oppose his progress, contents himself

with laying waste the country. (38) Alexander's army crosses the Tigris by a ford. Had Mazaeus attacked the Macedonians during the confusion of the passage, he might easily have destroyed them. (39) An eclipse of the moon alarms the Macedonians; but Alexander makes his Egyptian soothsayers interpret the natural appearance so as to favour his cause. (40) He marches along the right bank of the Tigris; his advanced guard follows hard upon the retreating Persians, in order to obtain provisions, which the latter are everywhere destroying. Letters from Darius to the Greeks in the Macedonian army, exciting them to treachery, are intercepted, and kept secret. (41) During this march, the captive consort of Darius dies. Alexander exhibits his grief in the most sympathising manner, and causes her to be honourably buried. (42) A eunuch of her train escapes to Darius, informs him of his queen's death, and frees him of all fear that the captives had been unbecomingly treated. (43) Darius, therefore, for the third time, proposes terms of peace to Alexander: he offers him the hand of his daughter, all the countries from the Hellespont to the Euphrates, and a ransom of 30,000 talents for the captives. (44) In the council, Parmenio advises the king to accept the terms; but Alexander refuses them, and gives, as his answer, that now a battle must decide. (45) The armies approach nearer to each other. Darius's order of battle is described. (46) A sudden and causeless fear seizes the Macedonians on their march. Alexander immediately orders them to halt, and encamp. On the following day he takes possession of a hill, which is given up by the Persian advanced guard. Here he erects another camp. (47) He calls a council of war. Parmenio advises an attack on the Persians by night. Alexander, however, declines this counsel, and appoints an open battle for the next day, October 1, 331 B. C. (48) Religious preparation of both monarchs. (49) Alexander is so free from care, as to sleep till late on the morning of the battle. Parmenio awakes him, and he rises full of confidence. (50) He arranges his order of battle, well secured on all sides; (51) and takes precautions against the scythe-chariots and sharp pieces of iron which have been scattered over a part of the field to injure the horses. (52) He encourages the different portions of his army. (53, 54, 55) Darius, in the left wing of his army, addresses his soldiers from his chariot, exhorting them to valour. (56) Alexander advances, the Persian scythe-chariots start off, and throw his ranks into disorder; some Persian cavalry attack the guard of the baggage, and appear to have the advantage. (57) The chariots are broken to pieces in assailing the Macedonian phalanx. Alexander, careless of the baggage, presses on against Darius. (58) The battle rages around the monarchs. (59) By the help of the gods, and in consequence of an error of the Persians, Alexander conquers. Darius is compelled to flee, and is pursued. (60) On the left wing of the Macedonians, Parmenio, after being hard pressed,

is at last victorious, and Mazaeus retreats. (61) The Persians flee in different directions, and endure many privations. (62) At the bridge over the Lycus Alexander halts, and turns back. He comes here into a great danger, from which only his determination delivers him. (63) Loss on both sides. Praise of the Macedonians and their king.

Dareus tanti modo exercitus rex, qui triumphantis magis, quam dimicantis more, curru sublimis inierat proelium, per loca, quae prope immensis agminibus impleverat, jam inania et ingenti solitudine vasta fugiebat. Pauci regem sequebantur: nam nec eodem omnes fugam intenderant, et deficientibus equis cursum eorum, quos rex subinde mutabat, aequare non poterant. Onchas[1] dein pervenit, ubi excepere eum Graecorum quattuor milia, quibuscum ad Euphraten contendit, id demum credens fore ipsius, quod celeritate praecipere potuisset. At Alexander Parmenionem, per quem apud Damascum recepta erat praeda, jussum eam ipsam et captivos diligenti asservare custodia, Syriae, quam Coelen vocant,[2] praefecit. Novum imperium Syri, nondum belli cladibus satis domiti, aspernabantur: sed celeriter subacti obedienter imperata fecerunt. Aradus quoque insula deditur regi.[3] Meritimam tum oram et pleraque longius etiam a mari recedentia rex ejus insulae Strato possidebat: quo in fidem accepto, castra movit ad urbem Marathon.

2. Ibi illi litterae a Dareo redduntur, quibus ut superbe scriptis vehementer offensus est. Praecipue eum movit, quod Dareus sibi regis titulum, nec eundem Alexandri nomini adscripserat. Postulabat autem magis quam petebat, ut accepta pecunia, quantamcunque tota Macedonia caperet, matrem sibi et conjugem liberosque restitueret: de regno aequo, si vellet, Marte[4] contenderet. Si saniora con-

[1] A place unknown to us. It must have been situated between the Amanic gate and the town of Thapsacus.

[2] Hollow Syria (Coelesyria) is, in its more limited sense, the country between the ranges of Libanus and Anti-Libanus, in which are situated Baalbek (*Heliopolis*) and Damascus; in its wider signification, it comprehends the whole of Northern Syria, in opposition to the sea-coast of Phoenicia and Palestine and the high country of Judaea. The principal river is the Orontes, on which were situated the celebrated cities of Apamea and Antiochia. These towns, however, did not exist in the time of Alexander, at least not under the same names.

[3] Aradus was the most northerly town of the Phoenicians. It was situated on a small rocky island. Marathos lies on the mainland opposite, and along with Aradus, was under the government of Strato, who had probably sent his submission to Alexander, while he was on his march.

[4] Mars is the personification of war: *aequo Marte*, 'with equal

silia tandem pati potuisset, contentus patrio, cederet alieni imperii finibus: socius amicusque esset. In ea se fidem et dare paratum et accipere. Contra Alexander in hunc maxime modum rescripsit: Rex Alexander Dareo. Cujus nomen sumpsisti, Dareus[1] Graecos, qui oram Hellesponti tenent, coloniasque Graecorum Ionias, omni clade vastavit, cum magno deinde exercitu mare trajecit, illato Macedoniae et Graeciae bello. Rursus Xerxes gentis ejusdem, ad oppugnandos nos cum immanium barbarorum copiis venit: qui navali proelio victus, Mardonium tamen reliquit in Graecia, ut absens quoque popularetur urbes, agros ureret. Philippum vero parentem meum quis ignorat ab his interfectum esse, quos ingentis pecuniae spe sollicitaverant vestri?[2] Impia enim bella suscipitis, et cum habeatis arma, licemini hostium capita:[3] sicut tu proxime talentis mille, tanti exercitus rex, percussorem in me emere voluisti. Repello igitur bellum, non infero. Et Dii quoque pro meliore stant causa; magnam partem Asiae in dicionem redegi meam, te ipsum acie vici. Quem etsi nihil a me impetrare oportebat, utpote qui[4] ne belli quidem in me jura servaveris, tamen, si veneris supplex, et matrem et conjugem et liberos sine pretio recepturum esse[5] promitto. Et vincere et consulere victis scio. Quod si te committere nobis times,[6] dabimus fidem, impune venturum. De cetero, cum mihi scribes, memento non

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advantages of every kind.' Darius alludes to the fact that at Issus he had fought at a disadvantage, on account of the narrow nature of his ground.

[1] That Darius, namely, who, in order to distinguish him from Alexander's opponent, *Dareus Codomanus*, is known as *Dareus Hystaspis filius*. Alexander says in his letter that his opponent had assumed the name of one of his predecessors. It was quite allowable, because the designations by which we know the Persian kings were not proper names, but titles of honour: for example, Cyrus, before coming to the throne, was called *Agradatus*. He afterwards received the title of *Koresch;* that is 'Sun.'

[2] Impartial history denies that Philip's murderers were bribed: private resentment led them to the act. Alexander, however, had some measure of justice in this accusation, because it is certain that Persian gold was lavishly spent in Greece against the king of Macedon; and even though the murderers were not bribed, they could at least rely on protection and reward from the Persian government.

[3] *Licere*, with the accusative, signifies 'to bid for something,' as at an auction.

[4] *Utpote qui*, 'because thou.' See Zumpt, § 565.

[5] Supply *te* out of the preceding *si veneris;* and a little after, supply it to *venturum*, out of *te committere*. These pronouns are usually repeated.

[6] The infinitive with *timere*. See *Gram*. § 352, note 2.

solum regi te, sed etiam tuo scribere. Ad hanc perferendam Thersippus est missus.

3. Ipse in Phoenicen descendit, et oppidum Byblon traditum recepit. Inde ad Sidona ventum est, urbem vetustate famaque conditorum inclitam. Regnabat in ea Strato,[1] Darei opibus adjutus, sed quia deditionem magis popularium, quam sua sponte fecerat, regno visus indignus, Hephaestionique permissum, ut, quem eo fastigio[2] e Sidoniis dignissimum arbitraretur constitueret regem. Erant Hephaestionis hospites clari inter suos juvenes: qui facta ipsis potestate regnandi, negaverunt, quemquam patrio more in id fastigium recipi, nisi regia stirpe ortum. Admiratus Hephaestion magnitudinem animi spernentis, quod alii per ignes ferrumque peterent, Vos quidem macti virtute, inquit, estote, qui primi intellexistis, quanto majus esset regnum fastidire, quam accipere. Ceterum date aliquem regiae stirpis, qui meminerit,[3] a vobis acceptum habere se regnum. Atque illi, cum multos imminere tantae spei cernerent, singulis amicorum Alexandri ob nimiam regni cupiditatem adulantes, statuunt, neminem esse potiorem[4] quam Abdalonymum quendam, longa quidem cognatione stirpi regiae annexum, sed ob inopiam suburbanum hortum exigua colentem stipe.[5] Causa ei paupertatis, sicut plerisque, probitas erat; intentusque operi diurno, strepitum armorum, qui totam Asiam concusserat, non exaudiebat.

4. Subito deinde de quibus ante dictum est,[6] cum regiae vestis insignibus[7] hortum intrant, quem forte steriles herbas[8] eligens Abdalonymus repurgabat. Tum rege eo salutato, alter ex his: Habitus, inquit, hic vestis,[9] quem cernis in meis manibus, cum isto squalore permutandus tibi est. Ablue corpus illuvie aeternisque sordibus squalidum: cape regis animum, et in eam fortunam, qua dignus es, istam

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[1] Certainly a different person from the Strato mentioned in the first chapter. The name is a common one.

[2] 'Highest position or dignity.'

[3] 'One of such a character as to remember,' in order that you may obtain some advantage by the new government.

[4] 'More excellent, more worthy of the throne.' *Potior* wants the positive.

[5] 'For a small reward,' or 'with but little profit.' The nominative *stips* is not in use, but perhaps all the other cases. Its meaning is, 'a piece of money,' or 'money' in the more limited sense. *Pecunia* has a wider signification than *stips*.

[6] Supply *ii* as antecedent to *quibus*, and as the subject to *intrant*.

[7] This is merely a periphrasis for *cum regia veste*.

[8] This, or *noxiae herbae*, is the expression for 'weeds.'

[9] The combination *habitus vestis* is used to express a fixed formal kind of dress, as here the royal robes. See iii. 6, 3.

continentiam perfer. Et cum in regali solio residebis, vitae necisque omnium civium dominus, cave obliviscaris hujus status, in quo accipis regnum, immo hercule, propter quem. Somnio similis res Abdalonymo videbatur: interdum, satisne sani essent, qui tam proterve sibi illuderent, percontabatur. Sed ut cunctanti squalor ablutus est, et injecta vestir purpura auroque distincta, et fides a jurantibus facta, serio jam rex, iisdem comitantibus in regiam pervenit. Fama deinde, ut solet, strenue tota urbe discurrit: aliorum studium, aliorum indignatio eminebat: ditissimus quisque humilitatem inopiamque ejus apud amicos Alexandri criminabatur. Admitti eum rex protinus jussit, diuque contemplatus, corporis, inquit, habitus famae generis non repugnat: sed libet scire, inopiam qua patientia tuleris? Tum ille, utinam, inquit, eodem animo regnum pati possim! hae manus suffecere desiderio meo: nihil habenti nihil defuit. Magnae indolis specimen ex hoc sermone Abdalonymi cepit. Itaque non Stratonis modo regiam suppellectilem attribui ei jussit, sed pleraque[1] etiam ex Persica praeda, regionem quoque urbi appositam dicioni ejus adjecit.

5. Interea Amyntas, quem ad Persas ab Alexandro transfugisse diximus,[2] cum quattuor milibus Graecorum, ipsum ex acie persecutis, fuga Tripolin[3] pervenit. Inde in naves militibus impositis Cyprum transmisit, et cum in illo statu rerum id quemque, quod occupasset, habiturum arbitraretur velut certo jure possessum, Aegyptum petere decrevit: utrique regi hostis, et semper ex ancipiti mutatione temporum pendens. Hortatusque milites ad spem tantae rei, docet, Satacem praetorem Aegypti cecidisse in acie, Persarum praesidium et sine duce esse, et invalidum, Aegyptios, semper praetoribus eorum infestos, pro sociis ipsos, non pro hostibus aestimaturos. Omnia experiri necessitas cogebat: quippe cum primas spes fortuna destituit, futura praesentibus videntur esse potiora. Igitur conclamant, duceret quo videretur. Atque ille utendum animis dum spe calerent ratus, ad Pelusium ostium[4] penetrat, simulans a Dareo se esse praemissum. Potitus ergo Pelusii, Memphim copias promovit: ad cujus famam Aegyptii, vana gens et novandis quam gerendis aptior rebus, ex suis quique vicis urbibusque, hoc ipsum,[5]

[1] In the sense of *plurima*.

[2] See iii. 28.

[3] A considerable city in Phoenicia, between Aradus and Byblus. It received its name from the fact, that its original inhabitants were colonists from three towns—Aradus, Tyre, and Sidon.

[4] The most easterly of the seven mouths of the Nile, on which now stands the city of Damietta.

[5] 'That was the very thing:' namely, what Amyntas had said. An elliptical parenthesis.

concurrunt ad delenda praesidia Persarum. Qui territi, tamen spem retinendi Aegyptum non omiserunt. Sed eos Amyntas, proelio superatos, in urbem compellit, castrisque positis victores ad populandos agros, velut in medio positis hostium cunctis,[1] agebantur. Itaque Mazaces, quamquam infelici proelio suorum animos territos esse cognoverat, tamen palantes[2] et victoriae fiducia incautos ostentans, perpulit ne dubitarent ex urbe erumpere et res amissas recuperare. Id consilium non ratione prudentius, quam eventu felicius[3] fuit: ad unum omnes[4] cum ipso duce occisi sunt. Has poenas Amyntas utrique regi dedit, nihilo magis ei ad quem transfugerat fidus, quam illi quem deseruerat.

6. Darei praetores, qui proelio apud Isson superfuerant, cum omni manu, quae fugientes secuta erat, assumpta etiam Cappadocum et Paphlagonum juventute, Lydiam recuperare temptabant. Antigonus, praetor Alexandri, Lydiae praeerat: qui, quamquam plerosque militum ex praesidiis[5] ad regem dimiserat, tamen barbaris spretis, in aciem suos eduxit. Eadem illic quoque fortuna partium fuit: tribus proeliis alia atque alia regione[6] commissis, Persae funduntur. Eodem tempore classis Macedonum ex Graecia accita, Aristomenen, qui ad Hellesponti oram recuperandam a Dareo erat missus, captis ejus aut mersis navibus superat. A Milesiis deinde Pharnabazus praefectus Persicae classis pecunia exacta, et praesidio in urbem Chium introducto, centum navibus Andrum, et inde Siphnum petiit. Has quoque insulas praesidiis occupat, pecunia multat.[7] Magnitudo belli, quod ab opulentissimis Europae Asiaeque regibus in spem totius orbis occupandi gerebatur, Graeciae quoque et Cretae arma commoverat. Agis, Lacedaemoniorum rex, octo milibus Graecorum, qui ex Cilicia profugi domos repetierant, contractis, bellum Antipatro Macedoniae praefecto moliebatur, Cretenses

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[1] 'As if all the possessions of the enemy had been given up,' or 'abandoned.'

[2] 'Wandering about, without restraint or care.'

[3] We translate the sentence with 'quite as:' 'this scheme was quite as successfully executed, as it was prudently or skilfully devised.'

[4] 'All to a man;' that is, since the *unus* is included, 'all without exception.'

[5] 'Out of the strong places, where he had garrisons.' *Praesidium* is both a garrison and a garrison town.

[6] The proper prose expression is *in regione*. See *Gram.* § 307, 1, n. 2.

[7] Had fortune proved fickle in Alexander's main army, he would have had a war in his rear, which, considering the disaffected state of Greece, might have proved dangerous.

has aut illas partes secuti, nunc Spartanorum, nunc Macedonum praesidiis occupabantur. Sed leviora inter illos fuere discrimina,[1] unum certamen, ex quo cetera pendebant, intuente fortuna.

7. Jam tota Syria, jam Phoenice quoque, excepta Tyro, Macedonum erat, habebatque rex castra in continenti, a quo[2] urbem angustum fretum dirimit. Tyros, et magnitudine et claritate ante omnes urbes Syriae Phoenicesque memorabilis, facilius societatem Alexandri acceptura videbatur,[3] quam imperium. Coronam igitur auream donum legati afferebant, commeatusque large et hospitaliter ex oppido advexerant. Ille dona, ut ab amicis, accipi jussit, benigneque legatos allocutus, Herculi, quem praecipue Tyrii colerent, sacrificare velle se dixit: Macedonum reges credere, ab illo deo ipsos genus ducere, se vero ut id faceret etiam oraculo monitum. Legati respondent, esse templum Herculis extra urbem, in ea sede, quam Palaetyron ipsi vocent:[4] ibi regem deo sacrum rite facturum. Non tenuit iram, cujus alioqui[5] potens non erat. Itaque, vos quidem, inquit, fiducia loci, quod insulam incolitis, pedestrem hunc exercitum spernitis: sed brevi ostendam in continenti vos esse. Proinde sciatis licet, aut intraturum me urbem, aut oppugnaturum. Cum hoc responso dimissos monere amici[6] coeperunt, ut regem, quem Syria, quem Phoenice recepisset, ipsi quoque urbem intrare paterentur. At illi, loco satis fisi, obsidionem ferre decreverant.

8. Namque urbem a continenti quatuor stadiorum fretum[7] dividit: Africo[8] maxime objectum, crebros ex alto fluctus in litus evolvit. Nec accipiendo operi,[9] quo Macedones continenti insulam jungere parabant, quicquam magis quam ille ventus obstabat. Quippe vix leni et tranquillo mari moles agi[10] possunt, Africus vero prima quaeque congesta pulsu illisa

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[1] Battles, with their various results; for *discrimen* is not a battle by itself, but rather its decision or result.

[2] *Continens* is sometimes masculine, sometimes feminine. In the former case we supply *ager*, in the latter *terra*.

[3] 'Seemed disposed rather to accept of an alliance with Alexander, than,' &c.

[4] On the continent, a few miles south from the city on the island.

[5] 'In other circumstances.' For the difference between *alias* and *alioqui*, see Zumpt, § 275.

[6] The officers, probably, of the king's staff.

[7] 'A strait of four stadia' (in breadth).

[8] The south-west wind; Gr. Λίψ. The south wind is *Auster;* Gr. Νότος: the south-east wind *Vulturnus;* Gr. Εὐρόνοτος.

[9] For the strait *accipere opus* is simply to receive the mole in its bosom, to permit the work to be carried on.

[10] *Moles aguntur*, 'the masses (of stone or earth) are pushed forward.'

mari subruit: nec ulla tam firma moles est, quam non exedant[1] undae et per nexus operum manantes, et, ubi acrior flatus existit, summi operis fastigio superfusae.[2] Praeter hanc difficultatem haud minor alia erat: muros turresque urbis praealtum mare ambiebat: non tormenta nisi e navibus procul excussa mitti,[3] non scalae moenibus applicari poterant: praeceps in salum murus pedestre interceperat iter: naves nec habebat rex, et, si admovisset, pendentes et instabiles missilibus arceri poterant. Inter quae parva dictu res Tyriorum fiduciam accendit. Carthaginiensium legati ad celebrandum sacrum anniversarium more patrio tunc venerant: quippe Carthaginem Tyrii condiderunt, semper parentum loco culti. Hortari ergo Poeni coeperunt, ut obsidionem forti animo paterentur; brevi Carthagine auxilia ventura. Namque ea tempestate magna ex parte Punicis classibus maria obsidebantur.

9. Igitur bello decreto, per[4] muros turresque tormenta disponunt, arma junioribus dividunt, opifices, quorum copia urbs abundabat, in officinas distribuunt. Omnia belli apparatu strepunt: ferreae quoque manus (Harpagonas vocant), quas operibus hostium injicerent, corvique[5] et alia tuendis urbibus excogitata praeparabantur. Sed cum fornacibus ferrum, quod excudi oportebat, impositum esset, admotisque follibus ignem flatu accenderent, sanguinis rivi sub ipsis flammis extitisse dicuntur: idque omen in Macedonum metum verterunt Tyrii. Apud Macedonas quoque cum forte panem quidam militum frangerent, manantis sanguinis guttas notaverunt. Territoque rege, Aristander, peritissimus vatum, si extrinsecus cruor fluxisset, Macedonibus id triste futurum, ait: contra, cum ab interiore parte manaverit, urbi, quam obsidere destinassent, exitium portendere. Alexander cum et classem procul haberet, et longam obsidionem magno sibi ad cetera impedimento videret fore, caduceatores, qui ad pacem eos compellerent, misit: quos Tyrii contra jus gentium occisos praecipitaverunt in altum. Atque ille suorum tam indigna morte commotus, urbem obsidere statuit.[6]

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1 'To destroy by degrees.'

2 'Streaming over the top of the work.' *Summi* is pleonastic, as it is contained in *fastigium*.

3 'Shots could only be thrown from a distance; namely, from the ships.' *Tormentum* may be applied to the thing thrown, as well as to the machine which throws.

4 'Everywhere along the walls, and on the towers.' See Zumpt, § 301.

5 These 'ravens' were sharp iron hooks.

6 The ordinary distinction between *oppugnare*, 'to assault,' or besiege actively, and *obsidere*, 'to blockade,' or besiege passively, is not observed here. *Obsidere* here clearly means, 'to make an assault,' or 'to storm.'

10. Sed ante jacienda moles erat, quae continenti urbem committeret. Ingens ergo animos militum desperatio incessit, cernentium profundum mare, quod vix divina ope posset impleri: quae saxa tam vasta, quas tam proceras arbores posse reperiri? exhauriendas esse regiones, ut illud spatium exaggeraretur,[1] exaestuare semper fretum, quoque artius volutetur[2] inter insulam et continentem, hoc acrius furere. At ille haudquaquam rudis pertractandi militares animos, speciem sibi Herculis in somno oblatam esse pronuntiat, dextram porrigentis: illo duce, illo aperiente in urbem intrare se visum. Inter haec caduceatores interfectos, gentium jura violata referebat: unam esse urbem, quae cursum victoris morari ausa esset. Ducibus deinde negotium datur, ut suos quisque castiget,[3] satisque omnibus stimulatis, opus orsus est. Magna vis saxorum ad manum erat, Tyro vetere praebente: materies ex Libano monte ratibus et turribus faciendis advehebatur. Jamque a fundo maris in altitudinem modicam opus creverat, nondum tamen aquae fastigium aequabat: cum Tyrii, parvis navigiis admotis, per ludibrium exprobrabant,[4] illos armis inclitos dorso sicut jumenta onera gestare: interrogabant etiam, num major Neptuno Alexander esset? Haec ipsa insectatio alacritatem militum accendit.

11. Jamque paulum moles aqua[5] eminebat, et simul aggeris latitudo crescebat, urbique admovebatur: cum Tyrii magnitudine molis, cujus incrementum eos antea fefellerat,[6] conspecta, levibus navigiis nondum commissum opus circumire coeperunt, missilibus quoque eos, qui pro opere stabant, incessere. Multis ergo impune vulneratis, cum et removere et appellere scaphas in expedito esset,[7] ad curam semet ipsos tuendi ab opere converterant: et quo longius moles agebatur a litore, hoc magis quicquid ingerebatur praealtum absorbebat mare. Igitur rex munientibus coria velaque jussit obtendi, ut extra teli jactum essent: duasque turres ex capite molis erexit,[8] e quibus in subeuntes scaphas tela ingeri pos-

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[1] 'To fill up that space with a mole.'

[2] 'And the narrower its course was,' &c.

[3] This word implies, 'to bring the men to their duty, by words, if possible; if not, by punishment.'

[4] For the construction of '*cum* temporale,' see *Gram.* § 355, note 1.

[5] *Aqua* is here used for *ex aqua*.

[6] 'Had escaped them.'

[7] 'It was easy for them, they were not prevented.' We say *res est in expedito*, on the same analogy as *res est in dubio, in aperto*. It is equivalent to *res est expedita*.

[8] The towers rose, as it were, 'out of the top of the mole.' In the next chapter our author uses *in capite molis*.

sent. Contra Tyrii navigia procul a conspectu hostium litori appellunt, expositisque militibus, eos, qui saxa gestabant, obtruncant. In Libano quoque Arabum agrestes[1] incompositos Macedonas adorti, triginta fere interficiunt, paucioribus captis. Ea res Alexandrum dividere copias coëgit: et ne segniter assidere uni urbi videretur, operi Perdiccan Crateronque[2] praefecit, ipse cum expedita manu Arabiam petiit.

12. Inter haec Tyrii navem magnitudine eximia, saxis arenaque a puppi[3] oneratam, ita ut multum prora emineret, bitumine ac sulphure illitam remis concitaverunt; et cum magnam vim venti vela quoque concepissent, celeriter ad molem successit: tum prora ejus accensa, remiges desiluere in scaphas, quae ad hoc ipsum praeparatae sequebantur. Navis autem igne concepto latius fundere incendium coepit, quod, priusquam posset occurri, turres et cetera opera in capite molis posita comprehendit. At qui desiluerant in parva navigia, faces, et quicquid alendo igni aptum erat, in eadem opera ingerunt. Jamque non modo Macedonum turres, sed etiam summa tabulata[4] conceperant ignem: cum hi, qui in turribus erant, partim haurirentur incendio, partim armis omissis, in mare semet ipsi immitterent. At Tyrii, qui capere eos, quam interficere mallent, natantium manus stipitibus saxisque lacerabant, donec debilitati[5] impune navigiis excipi possent. Nec incendio solum opera consumpta, sed forte eodem die vehementior ventus totum ex profundo mare illisit in molem, crebrisque fluctibus compages operis verberatae laxavere,[6] saxaque interfluens unda medium opus rupit. Prorutis igitur lapidum cumulis, quibus injecta terra sustinebatur, praeceps in profundum ruit, tantaeque molis vix ulla vestigia invenit Arabia[7] rediens Alexander.

13. Hic,[8] quod in adversis rebus solet fieri, alius in alium culpam referebant,[9] cum omnes verius de saevitia maris queri possent. Rex novi operis molem orsus, in adversum ventum non latere, sed recta fronte direxit: ea cetera opera, velut sub ipsa latentia, tuebatur: latitudinem quoque aggeri

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[1] The genitive partitive: litera y, 'wild men of the Arabs;' that is, 'a number of wild Arabs.'

[2] This Greek accusative is rarely used. It is more common, however, in names of towns, as *Tarson*, *Delon*, &c.

[3] *A puppi;* 'on the stern.' For this use of *ab*, see Zumpt, § 304.

[4] *Tabulatum;* a story in a building, being formed of boards. The fire reached even the highest storys of the towers.

[5] 'Wounded, and therefore weak;' unable to exert themselves.

[6] Used intransitively: 'loosened themselves,' or 'became loose.'

[7] This ought properly to have been *ex* or *ab Arabia*.

[8] 'In this emergency, under such circumstances,' as in chap. 17.

[9] It might also have been *referebat*. See Zumpt, § 367.

adjecit, ut turres in medio excitatae procul teli jactu abessent. Totas autem arbores cum ingentibus ramis in altum jaciebant, deinde saxis onerabant, rursusque cumulo eorum alias arbores injiciebant, tum humus aggerebatur, superque alia strue saxorum arborumque cumulata, velut quodam nexu continens opus junxerant. Nec Tyrii, quicquid ad impediendam molem excogitari poterat, segniter exequebantur. Praecipuum auxilium erat, qui procul hostium conspectu subibant aquam,[1] occultoque lapsu[2] ad molem usque penetrabant, falcibus palmites arborum eminentium ad se trahentes, quae ubi secutae erant, pleraque secum in profundum dabant:[3] tum levatos onere stipites truncosque arborum[4] haud aegre moliebantur: deinde totum opus, quod stipitibus fuerat innixum, fundamento lapso sequebatur. Aegro animi Alexandro, nec perseveraret, an abiret satis certo,[5] classis Cypro advenit, eodemque tempore Cleander[6] cum Graecis militibus in Asiam nuper advectus. Centum et octoginta navigia in duo dividit cornua; laevum Pnytagoras, rex Cypriorum, cum Cratero tuebatur, Alexandrum in dextro quinqueremis regia vehebat. Nec Tyrii, quamquam classem habebant, ausi navale inire certamen: tris omnino[7] ante ipsa moenia opposuerunt, quibus rex invectus, ipsas demersit.

14. Postera die classe ad moenia admota, undique tormentis et maxime arietum pulsa muros quatit: quos Tyrii raptim obstructis saxis refecerunt, interiorem quoque murum, ut, si prior fefellisset,[8] illo se tuerentur, undique orsi. Sed undique vis mali urgebat: moles intra teli jactum erat, classis moenia circumibat, terrestri simul navalique clade obruebantur. Quippe binas quadriremes[9] Macedones inter se ita junxerant, ut prorae cohaererent, puppes intervallo,

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[1] *Aquam subire* may be expressed by one word, *urinari*, 'to dive;' *urinator*, 'a diver.'

[2] 'Swimming under water.' The motion must have been floating and gliding (*labi*).

[3] 'Pushed, or drew down into the deep.' In the same manner we find *hostes in fugam dare*, 'to put to flight;' *se in praeceps dare*, 'to throw one's-self down headlong.'

[4] That is, as the next sentence indicates, those trunks of trees which served as a foundation.

[5] *Nec—certo.* 'And unable to make up his mind whether to continue the siege or abandon it.'

[6] Alexander had sent him to levy soldiers in Peloponnesus. See lib. iii. 1.

[7] Out of *classem* supply *naves*.

[8] 'Should have failed them in their need;' 'left them in the lurch.'

[9] The use of the distributive numeral *binas* shows that there was a considerable number of these floating machines, each formed by two quadriremes.

quantum capere poterant, distarent. Hoc puppium intervallum antennis asseribusque validis deligatis, superque eos pontibus stratis, qui militem sustinerent, impleverant: sic instructas quadriremes ad urbem agebant: inde missilia in propugnantes ingerebantur tuto, quia proris miles tegebatur. Media nox erat, cum classem, sicuti dictum est paratam, circumire muros jubet, jamque naves urbi undique admovebantur, et Tyrii desperatione torpebant:[1] cum subito spissae nubes intendere[2] se coelo, et quicquid lucis internitebat effusa caligine extinctum est. Tum inhorrescens[3] mare paulatim levari, deinde, acriore vento concitatum, fluctus ciere, et inter se navigia collidere. Jamque scindi coeperunt vincula, quibus connexae quadriremes erant, ruere tabulata, et cum ingenti fragore in profundum secum milites trahere. Neque enim conserta navigia ulla ope in turbido[4] regi poterant: miles ministeria nautarum, remex militis officia turbabat; et, quod in ejusmodi casu accidit, periti ignaris parebant: quippe gubernatores, alias imperare soliti, tum metu mortis jussa exequebantur. Tandem remis pertinacius everberatum[5] mare veluti eripientibus navigia classicis cessit, appulsaque sunt litori, lacerata pleraque.

15. Iisdem forte diebus Carthaginiensium legati triginta superveniunt, magis obsessis solatium, quam auxilium; quippe domestico bello Poenos impediri, nec de imperio, sed pro salute dimicare, nuntiabant. Syracusani tum Africam urebant, et haud procul Carthaginis muris locaverant castra.[6] Non tamen defecere animis Tyrii, quamquam ab ingenti spe[7] destituti erant; sed conjuges liberosque devehendos Carthaginem tradiderunt, fortius quicquid accideret laturi, si carissimam sui partem extra sortem communis periculi habuissent. Cumque unus e civibus in contione indicasset, oblatam esse per somnum sibi speciem Apollinis, quem eximia religione colerent, urbem deserentis, molemque a Macedonibus in salo jactam in silvestrem saltum esse mutatam: quamquam auctor levis erat, tamen ad deteriora

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[1] Their blood froze in their veins; their senses were benumbed.

[2] This is the perfect indicative, not the infinitive.

[3] *Horrere* is used properly of a surface which is bristled, studded with spikes. Thus the sea may be said *inhorrescere*, when it becomes wavy, bristly with billows. As to *levari*, the historical, or, as it ought to be called, descriptive infinitive, see *Gram.* § 390.

[4] 'On the stormy sea.'

[5] 'Beaten,' 'wounded,' by the stroke of the oars.

[6] Our author seems here to be in error; for, so far as we know, the Syracusans only once besieged Carthage, and that was under Agathocles, after Alexander's death.

[7] The mere ablative is more common. Compare viii. 23.

credenda proni metu, aurea catena devinxere simulacrum, araeque Herculis, cujus numini urbem dicaverant, inseruere vinculum, quasi illo deo Apollinem retenturo.[1] Syracusis id simulacrum devexerant Poeni, et in majore locaverant patria, multisque aliis spoliis urbium a semet captarum non Carthaginem magis, quam Tyrum ornaverant. Sacrum quoque, quod equidem diis minime cordi esse crediderim, multis saeculis intermissum repetendi auctores quidam erant, ut ingenuus puer Saturno[2] immolaretur: quod sacrilegium verius quam sacrum Carthaginienses, a conditoribus traditum, usque ad excidium urbis suae fecisse dicuntur. Ac nisi seniores obstitissent, quorum consilio cuncta agebantur, humanitatem dira superstitio vicisset.

16. Ceterum efficacior omni arte necessitas non usitata modo praesidia, sed quaedam etiam nova admonuit. Namque ad implicanda navigia, quae muros subibant, validis asseribus [corvos et ferreas manus[3]] illigaverant, ut, cum tormento asseres promovissent, subito laxatis funibus injicerent. Unci quoque et falces, ex iisdem asseribus dependentes, aut propugnatores aut ipsa navigia lacerabant. Clypeos vero aereos multo igne torrebant, quos repletos fervida harena[4] coenoque decocto e muris subito devolvebant. Nec ulla pestis magis timebatur: quippe ubi loricam corpusque[5] fervens harena penetraverat, nec ulla vi excuti poterat, et quicquid attigerat perurebat, jacientesque arma, laceratis omnibus, quis protegi poterant, vulneribus inulti patebant: corvi vero et ferreae manus tormento remissae[6] plerosque rapiebant.

17. Hic rex fatigatus statuerat soluta obsidione Aegyptum

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[1] 'As if that god (Hercules) would keep back Apollo.' See *Gram.* § 405, n. 7. The Tyrians trusted in Hercules, because he, or, to speak more accurately, a divinity whom the Greeks considered to resemble their Hercules, presided over their city. The Tyrians honoured also the Greek Apollo, because in him they recognised their own god, the Sun.

[2] That is, the Phoenician *Baal Chewan*. The Greeks recognised in him their Κρόνος, and it is not improbable that the Phoenician religion may anciently have prevailed in Crete, where the worship of Κρόνος was afterwards cast into the background by that of Ζεύς.

[3] The words within brackets are wanting in the manuscripts, but they, or some such words, are necessary.

[4] *Arena* is almost always written without the aspirate. See Zumpt, § 4.

[5] We should have expected *per loricam usque ad corpus;* but *penetrare* with the accusative is used in the sense, 'to pierce through up to an object,' as well as 'to pierce through an object.' Both these significations are united in this sentence.

[6] 'Let loose from the engine;' that is, when the fastenings by which they were bound were unloosed.

petere. Quippe cum Asiam ingenti velocitate[1] percurrisset, circa muros unius urbis haerebat, tot maximarum rerum opportunitate[2] dimissa. Ceterum tam discedere irritum, quam morari pudebat; famam quoque, qua plura quam armis everterat, ratus leviorem fore, si Tyrum, quasi testem se posse vinci, reliquisset. Igitur ne quid inexpertum omitteret, plures naves admoveri jubet, delectosque militum[3] imponi. Et forte belua inusitatae magnitudinis, super ipsos fluctus dorso eminens, ad molem, quam Macedones jecerant, ingens corpus applicuit, diverberatisque fluctibus allevans semet, utrimque conspecta est: deinde a capite molis rursus alto se immersit, ac modo super undas eminens magna sui parte, modo superfusis fluctibus condita, haud procul munimentis urbis emersit. Utrisque[4] laetus fuit beluae aspectus: Macedones iter jaciendo operi montrasse eam augurabantur, Tyrii Neptunum, occupati maris vindicem, abripuisse beluam, ac molem brevi profecto ruituram. Laetique omine eo ad epulas dilapsi oneravere se vino, quo graves orto sole navigia conscendunt, redimita floribus coronisque:[5] adeo victoriae non omen modo, sed etiam gratulationem praeceperant.[6]

18. Forte rex classem in diversam partem agi jusserat,[7] triginta minoribus navigiis relictis in litore: e quibus Tyrii duobus captis, cetera ingenti terruerunt metu, donec, suorum clamore audito, Alexander classem litori, a quo fremitus acciderat, admovit. Prima e Macedonum navibus quinqueremis velocitate inter ceteras eminens occurrit, quam ut conspexere Tyriae, duae ex diverso in latera ejus invectae sunt, in quarum alteram quinqueremis eadem concitata et ipsa rostro icta est, et illam invicem tenuit. Jamque ea, quae non cohaerebat, libero impetu evecta, in aliud quinqueremis latus invehebatur, cum opportunitate mira triremis e classe Alexandri in eam ipsam, quae quinqueremi immi-

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[1] 'Rapidity.' This word is more commonly used as an attribute of persons than *celeritas*.

[2] 'The favourable time for so many undertakings of the highest importance.'

[3] The same as *delectos milites*. See Zumpt, § 430.

[4] 'To both parties.' The plural of *uterque* is used when, as here, there are more than one on each side. See *Gram.* § 120, note 3.

[5] 'With wreaths or coronets of flowers.' A case of what grammarians call *ἓν διὰ δυοῖν*. See Zumpt, § 741.

[6] They had anticipated those exhibitions of joy and thanks, which are proper only after a prosperous issue. They acted as if that had happened, of which they considered the omen to be a prognostication.

[7] Alexander had divided his fleet, and had moored the greater part of the ships off what was called the Egyptian port of Tyre, whilst the rest lay on the beach opposite to the Sidonian harbour. It was this latter division which the Tyrians attacked. This is Arrian's account.

nebat, tanta vi impulsa est, ut Tyrius gubernator in mare excuteretur e puppi. Plures deinde Macedonum naves superveniunt, et rex quoque aderat: cum Tyrii inhibentes remis aegre evellere navem, quae haerebat, portumque omnia simul navigia repetunt. Confestim rex insecutus portum quidem intrare non potuit, cum procul e muris missilibus summoveretur, naves autem omnes fere aut demersit, aut cepit.

19. Biduo deinde ad quietem dato militibus, jussisque et classem et machinas pariter admovere, ut undique territis instaret, ipse in altissimam turrem ascendit, ingenti animo, periculo majore. Quippe regio insigni et armis fulgentibus conspicuus, unus praecipue telis petebatur. Et digna prorsus spectaculo edidit: multos e muris propugnantes hasta transfixit, quosdam etiam comminus gladio clypeoque impulsos praecipitavit, quippe turris, ex qua dimicabat, muris hostium propemodum cohaerebat. Jamque crebris arietibus saxorum compage laxata munimenta defecerant,[1] et classis intraverat portum, et quidam Macedonum in turres hostium desertas evaserant: cum Tyrii, tot simul malis victi, alii supplices in templa confugiunt, alii foribus aedium obseratis occupant liberum mortis arbitrium,[2] nonnulli ruunt in hostem, haud inulti tamen perituri,[3] magna pars summa tectorum[4] obtinebat, saxa et quicquid fors manibus dederat, ingerentes subeuntibus. Alexander, exceptis qui in templa confugerant, omnes interfici, ignemque tectis injici jubet. His per praecones pronuntiatis, nemo tamen armatus opem a diis petere sustinuit:[5] pueri virginesque templa compleverant, viri in vestibulo suarum quisque aedium stabant, parata saevientibus turba. Multis tamen saluti fuere Sidonii, qui intra Macedonum praesidia[6] erant. Hi urbem quidem inter victores intraverant, sed cognationis cum Tyriis memores (quippe utramque urbem Agenorem condidisse credebant), multos Tyriorum, etiam protegentes,[7] ad sua perduxere

[1] 'Had given way.'

[2] 'Take beforehand a free choice of the manner of their death.' *Aliquid occupare* is, 'to take or do something before something else comes in the way.'

[3] 'In order that, die though they should, they might still not perish unrevenged.'

[4] Ordinary Latinity would have given *summa tecta*. See Zumpt, § 435.

[5] 'Could overcome his pride and fear of shame so far as to,' &c. *Sustinere* not unfrequently bears this sense.

[6] 'Within the posts or lines of the Macedonians.' The term *praesidium*, properly belonging to the positions of a land army, is here applied to a fleet.

[7] They not merely led them away, but also defended them, whenever a Macedonian soldier attempted to kill them.

navigia, quibus occultatis Sidona devecti sunt. Quindecim milia hoc furto subducta saevitiae sunt. Quantumque sanguinis fusum sit, vel ex hoc aestimari potest, quod intra munimenta urbis sex milia armatorum trucidata sunt. Triste deinde spectaculum victoribus ira praebuit regis. Duo milia, in quibus occidendis defecerat rabies,[1] crucibus affixi per ingens litoris spatium pependerunt. Carthaginiensium legatis pepercit, addita denuntiatione belli, quod praesentium rerum necessitas moraretur.

20. Tyros septimo mense, quam[2] oppugnari coepta erat, capta est, urbs et vetustate originis et crebra fortunae varietate ad memoriam posteritatis insignis. Condita ab Agenore diu mare, non vicinum modo, sed quodcunque classes ejus adierunt, dicionis suae fecit. Et si famae libet credere, haec gens litteras prima aut docuit, aut didicit. Coloniae certe ejus paene orbe toto diffusae sunt: Carthago in Africa, in Boeotia Thebae, Gades ad Oceanum.[3] Credo libero commeantes[4] mari saepiusque adeundo ceteris incognitas terras, elegisse sedes juventuti, qua tunc abundabant: sive quia crebris motibus terrae, nam hoc quoque traditur, cultores ejus fatigati, nova et externa domicilia armis sibimet quaerere cogebantur. Multis ergo casibus defuncta,[5] et post excidium renata, nunc tamen longa pace cuncta refovente, sub tutela Romanae mansuetudinis acquiescit.

21. Iisdem ferme diebus Darei litterae allatae sunt, tandem ut regi scriptae. Petebat, uti filiam suam (Statirae erat nomen), nuptiis Alexander sibi adjungeret: dotem fore omnem regionem inter Hellespontum et Halyn amnem sitam, inde Orientem spectantibus terris contentum (se fore). Si forte dubitaret quod offerretur accipere: nunquam diu eodem vestigio stare[6] fortunam, semperque homines, quantamcunque felicitatem habeant, invidiam tamen sentire

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[1] 'The mad rage of the conquerors, their lust for blood, had exhausted itself,' so that these two thousand had been spared in the general massacre. After *milia*, *affixa* might have been expected; but see Zumpt, § 368.

[2] *Quam* is here, as not unfrequently, used for *postquam*.

[3] The modern Cadiz, situated upon an islet on the Spanish coast, to the north-east of Gibraltar. The Phoenician name was Gadir; Greek, τὰ Γάδειρα.

[4] 'Trafficking,' 'sailing hither and thither.'

[5] 'After it had endured.'

[6] After the direct information, *petebat ut*, &c. the author passes into the indirect form of speech, without introducing a verb of *saying*. See *Gram.* § 379. Darius's offers are generous, and his arguments in a great measure just; and probably any other than Alexander would have agreed to the terms. The haughty tone of the letter, however, offended Alexander, conscious as he was of his military superiority.

majorem. Vereri se, ne avium modo, quas naturalis levitas ageret ad sidera, inani ac puerili mentis affectu efferretur.[1] Nihil difficilius esse, quam in illa aetate tantam capere fortunam. Multas se adhuc reliquias habere, nec semper inter angustias[2] posse deprehendi: transeundum esse Alexandro Euphraten, Tigrinque et Araxen, et Hydaspen,[3] magna munimenta regni sui. Veniendum in campos, ubi paucitate suorum erubescendum sit. Mediam, Hyrcaniam, Bactra, et Indos Oceani accolas quando aditurum? ne Sogdianos et Arachosios nominem,[4] ceterasque gentes ad Caucasum et Tanaim pertinentes? Senescendum fore tantum terrarum vel sine proelio obeunti.[5] Se vero ad ipsum vocare desineret[6] namque illius exitio se esse venturum. Alexander his, qui litteras attulerant, respondit, Dareum sibi aliena[7] promittere, et quod totum amiserit velle partiri. Doti sibi dari Lydiam, Ionas,[8] Aeolidem, Hellesponti oram, victoriae suae praemia. Leges autem a victoribus dici, accipi a victis. In utro statu ambo essent, si solus ignoraret, quamprimum Marte decerneret. Se quoque, cum transiret mare, non Ciliciam, aut Lydiam (quippe tanti belli exiguam hanc esse mercedem), sed Persepolim caput regni ejus, Bactra deinde, et Ecbatana, ultimique Orientis oram imperio suo destinasse. Quocunque ille fugere potuisset, ipsum sequi posse: desineret terrere fluminibus, quem sciret maria transisse.

22. Reges quidem haec invicem scripserant. Sed Rhodii urbem suam portusque dedebant Alexandro. Ille Ciliciam Socrati tradiderat, Philota regioni circa Tyrum jusso praesidere. Syriam, quae Coele appellatur, Andromacho Parmenio tradiderat, bello quod supererat interfuturus. Rex, Hephaestione Phoenices oram classe praetervehi jusso, ad

[1] The subject to *efferretur* is Alexander.

[2] Darius attributes his defeat to the fact, that at Issus his ground had been confined and unfavourable.

[3] Darius cannot be supposed to have mentioned this river, which is in India, and forms no part of the Persian empire. Curtius names it by mistake, perhaps because he knew that Alexander had great difficulty in crossing that river. See book viii. chaps. 45, 46.

[4] 'Not to mention:' the use of the first person in the *oratio obliqua* is a slight slip of the author.

[5] Darius says that if Alexander were to visit all these countries even without fighting, he would be an old man before he had finished his travels.

[6] The subjunctive depends on an understood verb of requesting or beseeching. See iii. 25; or it is the subjunctive for the imperative. See *Gram.* § 370.

[7] 'What did not belong to him.' Alexander had already taken possession of part of the country beyond the Halys.

[8] Used for *Ioniam*.

urbem Gazam cum omnibus copiis venit. Iisdem fere diebus sollemne erat ludicrum Isthmiorum,[1] quod conventu totius Graeciae celebratur. In eo concilio Graeci, ut sunt temporaria[2] ingenia, decernunt, ut quindecim legarentur ad regem, qui ob res pro salute ac libertate Graeciae gestas coronam auream donum victoriae ferrent. Iidem paulo ante incertae famae captaverant auram,[3] ut quocunque pendentes animos tulisset fortuna, sequerentur.[4]

23. Ceterum non ipse modo rex obibat urbes, adhuc jugum imperii recusantes, sed praetores quoque ipsius, egregii duces, pleraque invaserant.[5] Calas Paphlagoniam, Antigonus Lycaoniam;[6] Balacrus, Hydarne Darei praetore superato, Miletum cepit: Amphoterus et Hegelochus centum sexaginta navium classe insulas inter Achaiam[7] atque Asiam in dicionem Alexandri redegerunt. Tenedo quoque recepta, Chium, incolis ultro vocantibus, statuerant occupare: sed Pharnabazus, Darei praeter, comprehensis, qui res ad Macedones trahebant, rursus Apollonidi et Athenagorae, suarum partium viris, urbem cum modico praesidio militum tradit. Praefecti Alexandri in obsidione urbis perseverabant, non tam suis viribus,[8] quam ipsorum, qui obsidebantur, voluntate. Nec fefellit opinio. Namque inter Apolloniden et duces militum orta seditio irrumpendi in urbem occasionem dedit. Cumque porta effracta cohors Macedonum intrasset, oppidani, olim consilio proditionis agitato, aggregant se Amphotero et Hegelocho: Persarumque praesidio caeso, Pharnabazus cum Apol-

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[1] The *Isthmia*, or Isthmian Games, were celebrated every second year, in honour of Poseidon, by the state of Corinth, on the Isthmus. The four great games of Greece—the Olympic and Pythian, celebrated every fourth year, and the Isthmian and Nemean every second year—were truly '*conventus totius Graeciae*,' because all the Greeks had the liberty of competing for the prizes given by the state which celebrated the games. The present year was 332 B. C., and it was summer.

[2] 'Temporising;' varying according to circumstances.

[3] *Auram captare*, 'to catch after the breeze'—a beautiful figure for an attempt to hold fast what is very unstable. Compare Hor. *Od.* iii. 2, 20.

[4] 'To follow the lead of fortune,' because they themselves had no determination, and wavered continually. In truth, however, it was no want of resolution in the Greeks, but a consciousness of their weakness, and an unwillingness to stake everything upon a war.

[5] 'Had taken possession of very many districts, cities,' &c.

[6] A province in the interior of Asia Minor, between Phrygia and the range of Taurus. Its capital was Iconium.

[7] *Achaia*, in the Roman sense, stood for the whole of the mainland of Greece.

[8] 'On account of their own strength.' See *Gram.* § 291.

lonide et Athenagora vincti traduntur, duodecim triremes cum suo milite ac remige, praeter eas triginta inanes, et piratici lembi, Graecorumque tria milia a Persis mercede conducta. His in supplementum copiarum suarum distributis, piratisque supplicio affectis, captivos remiges adjecere classi suae.

24. Forte Aristonicus, Methymnaeorum[1] tyrannus, cum piraticis navibus, ignarus omnium quae apud Chium acta erant, prima vigilia ad portus claustra successit, interrogatusque a custodibus quis esset, Aristonicum ad Pharnabazum venire respondit. Illi Pharnabazum quidem jam quiescere, et non posse tum adiri, ceterum patere socio atque hospiti portum, et postera die Pharnabazi copiam fore,[2] affirmant. Nec dubitavit Aristonicus primus intrare, secuti sunt ducem piratici lembi, ac dum applicant navigia crepidini portus, objicitur a vigilibus claustrum, et qui proximi excubabant, ab iisdem excitantur: nullo ex his auso repugnare, omnibus catenae injectae sunt, Amphotero deinde Hegelochoque traduntur. Hinc Macedones transiere Mitylenen, quam Chares Atheniensis[3] nuper occupatam duorum milium Persarum praesidio tenebat: sed cum obsidionem tolerare non posset, urbe tradita, pactus ut incolumi abire liceret, Imbrum petit. Deditis Macedones pepercerunt.

25. Dareus desperata pace, quam per litteras legatosque impetrari posse crediderat, ad reparandas vires bellumque impigre renovandum intendit animum. Duces ergo copiarum Babyloniam[4] convenire, Bessum quoque, Bactrianorum praetorem, quam maximo posset exercitu coacto, descendere ad se jubet. Sunt autem Bactriani inter illas gentes promptissimi, horridis[5] ingeniis, multumque a Persarum luxu abhorrentibus: siti haud procul Scytharum bellicosissima gente, et rapto vivere assueta, semper in armis erant.[6] Sed Bessus suspecta perfidia[7] haud sane aequo animo in secundo se con-

[1] Methymna was a town in the island of Lesbos. It was the chief city next to Mitylene. The Persian king favoured *tyranni* and *tyrannides*. Alexander, on the other hand, patronised popular governments.

[2] 'He would be permitted to speak to Pharnabazus; that is, would be admitted to an interview. In this use of the word, *copiam habeo alicujus* is equivalent to *facultas mihi datur alicujus*.

[3] The same who had commanded the Athenians in the fatal battle of Chaeronea.

[4] The city of Babylon is sometimes called *Babylonia*, though the latter is properly the name of the country.

[5] 'Rugged and uncultivated.'

[6] They were always in arms for the protection of their country against the predatory inroads of the Scythians from beyond the Jaxartes.

[7] 'Through his suspected treachery.' Though *suspectus* is the

tinens gradu, regem terrebat. Nam cum regnum affectaret, proditio, qua sola id assequi poterat, timebatur. Ceterum Alexander, quam regionem Dareus petisset, omni cura vestigans, tamen explorare non poterat, more quodam Persarum, arcana regum mira celantium fide. Non metus, non spes elicit vocem, qua prodantur occulta. Vetus disciplina regum silentium vitae periculo sanxerat. Lingua gravius castigatur, quam ullum probrum: nec magnam rem sustineri posse credunt ab eo, cui tacere grave sit, quod homini facillimum voluerit esse natura.

26. Ob hanc causam Alexander omnium, quae apud hostem gererentur, ignarus, urbem Gazam[1] obsidebat. Praeerat urbi Betis, eximiae in regem suum fidei, modicoque praesidio muros ingentis operis[2] tuebatur. Alexander, aestimato locorum situ, agi cuniculos jussit, facili ac levi humo acceptante occultum opus, quippe multam harenam vicinum mare evomit, nec saxa cotesque, quae interpellent specus,[3] obstant. Igitur ab ea parte, quam oppidani conspicere non possent,[4] opus orsus, ut a sensu ejus averteret, turres muris admoveri jubet. Sed eadem[5] humus movendis inutilis turribus, desidente sabulo agilitatem rotarum morabatur, et tabulata turrium perfringebat,[6] multique vulnerabantur impune, cum idem recipiendis qui admovendis turribus labor eos fatigaret. Ergo receptui signo dato, postero die muros corona[7] circumdari jussit. Ortoque sole, priusquam admoveret exercitum, opem deum exposcens sacrum patrio more faciebat. Forte praetervolans corvus glebam, quam unguibus ferebat, subito amisit: quae cum regis capiti incidisset, resoluta defluxit,[8]

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participle of *suspicere*, yet that verb is not commonly used in the sense 'to suspect,' but, on the contrary, 'to admire,' 'to honour;' literally, 'to look up at something.' The proper verb for 'to suspect' is the deponent *suspicari*.

[1] One of the five cities of the Philistines, which are so often mentioned in Scripture. It was situated in the south-west of Syria.

[2] A peculiar expression, equivalent to 'extraordinarily high and strong.'

[3] As obstacles to the construction of subterranean passages, technically called *cuniculi*.

[4] The subjunctive is here used, because this clause gives the reason of Alexander's beginning on that side.

[5] 'The ground which was very suitable for mining operations, was at the same time disadvantageous,' &c.

[6] 'Occasioned the breaking up of the towers placed on each other;' for the sudden sinking in of the wheels broke the fastenings and joinings.

[7] This word is used for a body of soldiers drawn up in a circle. It indicates here that the city was to be completely environed.

[8] 'Broke in pieces, and fell to the ground.'

ipsa autem avis in proxima turre consedit. Illita erat turris bitumine ac sulphure,[1] in qua alis haerentibus, frustra se allevare conatus, a circumstantibus capitur. Digna res visa, de qua vates consuleret: et erat non intactae a superstitione[2] mentis. Ergo Aristander, cui maxima fides habebatur, urbis quidem excidium augurio illo portendi,[3] ceterum periculum esse, ne rex vulnus acciperet: itaque monuit, ne quid eo die inciperet. Ille, quamquam unam urbem sibi, quo minus securus Aegyptum intraret, obstare aegre ferebat, tamen paruit vati, signumque receptui dedit.

27. Hinc animus crevit obsessis, egressique porta recedentibus inferunt signa, cunctationem hostium suam fore occasionem[4] rati. Sed acrius quam constantius proelium inierunt: quippe ut Macedonum signa circumagi videre, repente sistunt gradum. Jamque ad regem proeliantium clamor pervenerat, cum denuntiati periculi haud sane memor, loricam tamen, quam raro induebat, amicis orantibus sumpsit, et ad prima signa pervenit. Quo conspecto Arabs quidam Darei miles, majus fortuna sua facinus ausus, gladium clypeo tegens, quasi transfuga genibus regis advolvitur. Ille assurgere supplicem, recipique inter suos jussit. At barbarus gladio strenue in dextram translato, cervicem appetit regis: qui exigua corporis declinatione evitato ictu, in vanum manum barbari lapsam amputat gladio, denuntiato in illum diem periculo, ut arbitrabatur ipse, defunctus. Sed, ut opinor, inevitabile est fatum. Quippe dum inter primores promptius dimicat, sagitta ictus est: quam per loricam adactam, stantem in humero medicus ejus Philippus evellit. Plurimus deinde sanguis manare coepit, omnibus territis, quia non, quam alte penetrasset telum, lorica obstante, cognoverant. Ipse, ne oris quidem colore mutato, supprimi sanguinem et vulnus obligari jussit. Diu ante ipsa signa vel dissimulato, vel victo dolore perstiterat; cum suppressus paulo ante sanguis medicamento, quo retentus erat, manare longius coepit, et vulnus, quod stupens[5] adhuc dolorem non moverat, frigente sanguine intumuit. Linqui deinde animo, et submitti genu coepit:[6] quem proximi exceptum in castra

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[1] Plutarch, in his life of Alexander, says that the bird was entangled and caught among the nets and cords.

[2] Regarding *a superstitione*, see *Gram.* § 302.

[3] Supply 'declared.'

[4] 'A favourable opportunity for themselves.'

[5] *Vulnus stupet*, the wound remains open.

[6] 'He began to lose his resolution, and to sink upon his knee.' *Submitti* is the same here as *se submittere*: *genu* the instrumental ablative, for the knee was the instrument, or intermediate step, of his falling to the ground.

receperunt. Et Betis interfectum ratus urbem ovans victoria[1] repetit.

28. At Alexander, nondum percurato vulnere, aggerem, quo moenium altitudinem aequaret, extruxit, pluribusque cuniculis muros subrui jussit. Oppidani ad pristinum fastigium moenium novum extruxere munimentum, sed ne id quidem turres aggeri impositas poterat aequare. Itaque interiora quoque urbis infesta telis erant. Ultima pestis urbis fuit cuniculo subrutus murus, per cujus ruinas hostis intravit. Ducebat ipse rex antesignanos,[2] et dum incautius subit, saxo crus ejus affligitur. Innixus tamen telo, nondum prioris vulneris obducta cicatrice, inter primores dimicat, ira quoque accensus, quod duo in obsidione urbis ejus vulnera acceperat. Betim, egregia edita pugna, multisque vulneribus confectum, deseruerunt sui, nec tamen segnius proelium capessebat, lubricis armis suo pariter atque hostium sanguine. Sed cum undique telis[3]

[peteretur, ad postremum exhaustis viribus vivus in potestatem hostium pervenit:]

quo adducto, insolenti gaudio juvenis elatus, alias virtutis etiam in hoste mirator, non ut voluisti, inquit, morieris, sed quicquid in captivum inveniri potest, passurum esse te cogita. Ille non interrito modo, sed contumaci quoque vultu intuens regem, nullam ad minas ejus reddidit vocem.[4] Tum Alexander, videtisne obstinatum ad tacendum? inquit. Num genu posuit? num vocem supplicem misit? Vincam tamen silentium, et si nihil aliud,[5] certe gemitu interpellabo. Ira deinde vertit[6] in rabiem, jam tum peregrinos ritus nova subeunte fortuna. Per talos enim spirantis lora trajecta sunt, religatumque ad currum traxere circa urbem equi: gloriante rege, Achillen, a quo genus ipse deduceret, imitatum se esse poena in hostem capienda. Cecidere Persarum Arabumque circa decem milia: nec Macedonibus incruenta victoria fuit. Obsidio certe non tam claritate urbis nobilitata est, quam geminato periculo

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[1] The expression *ovans victoria* is taken from the Roman custom of the *ovatio*. This name was applied to the entrance into the city of victorious generals, who were not distinguished enough to merit a *triumphus*. In the triumph the general advanced riding in a magnificent chariot; in the *ovatio* he was on horseback or on foot.

[2] Those soldiers in a division of a Roman army who fought before the standards (*antesigna*)—for the standards were never in the front—were called *antesignani*.

[3] There is here a gap in the manuscripts, which Freinsheim has filled up as above.

[4] We may translate 'not a word.' *Vox*, however, has a more general meaning than *verbum*, for it signifies 'any articulate sound.'

[5] Supply *effecero*. See Zumpt, § 771.

[6] More regularly *vertit se*, or *versa est*. See *Gram.* § 139, note 1.

regis. Qui Aegyptum adire festinans, Amyntam cum decem triremibus in Macedoniam ad inquisitionem novorum militum misit. Namque etiam secundis[1] atterebantur copiae, devictarumque gentium militi minor quam domestico fides habebatur.

29. Aegyptii, olim[2] Persarum opibus infensi, quippe avare et superbe imperitatum sibi esse credebant, ad spem adventus ejus erexerant animos, utpote qui Amyntam[3] quoque transfugam, et cum precario imperio[4] venientem, laeti recepissent. Igitur ingens multitudo Pelusium, qua intraturus videbatur, convenerat. Atque ille septimo die postquam a Gaza copias moverat, in regionem Aegypti, quam nunc Castra Alexandri vocant, pervenit. Deinde pedestribus copiis Pelusium petere jussis, ipse cum expedita delectorum manu Nilo amne vectus est: nec sustinuere adventum ejus Persae, defectione quoque perterriti. Jamque haud procul Memphi erat; in cujus praesidio Mazaces praetor Darei relictus, Heroon amne superato,[5] octingenta talenta Alexandro omnemque regiam supellectilem tradidit. A Memphi eodem flumine vectus, ad interiora Aegypti penetrat,[6] compositisque rebus ita, ut nihil ex patrio Aegyptiorum more mutaret, adire Jovis Hammonis oraculum statuit. Iter expeditis quoque et paucis vix tolerabile ingrediendum erat: terra coeloque aquarum penuria est, steriles harenae jacent, quas ubi vapor solis accendit, fervido solo exurente vestigia,[7] intolerabilis aestus existit. Luctandumque est non solum cum ardore et siccitate regionis, sed etiam cum tenacissimo sabulo, quod praealtum et vestigio cedens aegre moliuntur pedes. Haec Aegyptii vero majora jactabant. Sed ingens cupido animum stimulabat adeundi Jovem, quem generis sui auctorem, haud contentus mortali fastigio, aut credebat esse, aut credi volebat.

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[1] 'Even by prosperous undertakings,' battles, sieges, &c. *Secundis* is the neuter. *Secundis rebus* is more usual, and much less ambiguous.

[2] 'Always up to the present time' appears here to be the meaning.

[3] See above, chap. 5. The name Amyntas was very common among the Macedonians.

[4] 'With casual insecure power.' *Precarium* applies properly to that which we obtain by petitioning (*precibus*), and which we consequently hold merely on sufferance, or at the will of another.

[5] The name of the 'River of Heroes,' was given to a canal which led from the Pelusian branch of the Nile, past the 'City of Heroes' (*Heroopolis*), to the Red Sea.

[6] That is, as the following part of the narrative shows, not up the Nile to Upper Egypt, but down the river to the western parts of Lower Egypt.

[7] 'The hot ground burning the footsteps;' that is, the feet when placed upon it.

30. Ergo cum his, quos ducere secum statuerat, secundo amne descendit ad Mareotin paludem. Eo legati Cyrenensium[1] dona attulere, pacem, et ut adiret urbes suas, petentes. Ille, donis acceptis, amicitiaque conjuncta, destinata[2] exequi pergit. Ac primo quidem et sequente die tolerabilis labor visus, nondum tam vastis[3] nudisque solitudinibus aditis, jam tamen sterili et emoriente terra. Sed ut aperuere se campi alto obruti sabulo, haud secus quam profundum aequor ingressi, terram oculis requirebant. Nulla arbor, nullum culti soli occurrebat vestigium. Aqua etiam defecerat, quam utribus cameli vexerant, et in arido solo ac fervido sabulo nulla erat. Ad hoc[4] sol omnia incenderat, siccaque et adusta erant ora: cum repente, sive illud deorum munus, sive casus fuit, obductae coelo nubes condidere solem, ingens aestu fatigatis etiamsi aqua deficeret, auxilium. Enimvero ut largum quoque imbrem excusserunt procellae, pro se quisque excipere eum, quidam ob sitim impotentes sui, ore quoque hianti captare coeperunt. Quatriduum per vastas solitudines absumptum est. Jamque haud procul oraculi sede aberant, cum complures corvi agmini occurrunt, modico volatu prima signa antecedentes, et modo humi residebant, cum lentius agmen incederet, modo se pennis levabant, antecedentium iterque monstrantium ritu.

31. Tandem ad sedem consecratam deo ventum est. Incredibile dictu, inter vastas solitudines sita, undique ambientibus ramis, vix in densam umbram cadente sole, contecta est, multique fontes, dulcibus aquis passim[5] manantibus, alunt silvas. Coeli[6] quoque mira temperies, verno tepori maxime similis, omnes anni partes pari salubritate percurrit. Accolae sedis sunt ab oriente proximi Aethiopum. In meridiem versam[7] Arabes spectant, Troglodytis cognomen est: horum regio usque ad rubrum mare excurrit. At qua vergit

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[1] *Cyrene*, a flourishing Greek colony, situated between Egypt and the territory of Carthage, on a part of the coast otherwise desert and desolate.

[2] Namely, his intention of visiting the oasis of Hammon, now Siwah, in the desert to the west of Egypt.

[3] Supply *quam postea*, 'as afterwards.'

[4] 'Moreover.'

[5] 'Scattered everywhere,' 'in all quarters.' Curtius particularly mentions *dulces aquae*, 'fresh water,' because there were salt streams and lakes.

[6] *Coelum* is here the atmosphere, opposed to *solum*, the ground

[7] 'The Arabs inhabit the country on the south;' literally, 'look towards the south.' Our author is in error when he says that these Arabs extended to the Red Sea. He appears to have been misled by the fact, that there were Troglodytae—that is, dwellers in caves—especially on the west side of the Red Sea.

ad occidentem, alii Aethiopes colunt, quos Scenitas vocant.[1] A septemtrione Nasamones sunt, gens Syrtica,[2] navigiorum spoliis quaestuosa; quippe obsident litora, et aestu destituta navigia notis sibi vadis occupant. Incolae nemoris, quos Hammonios vocant, dispersis tuguriis habitant, medium nemus pro arce habent,[3] triplici muro circumdatum. Prima munitio tyrannorum veterem regiam clausit: in proxima conjuges eorum cum liberis et pellicibus habitant; hic quoque dei oraculum est: ultima munimenta satellitum armigerorumque sedes erant. Est et aliud Hammonis nemus: in medio habet fontem (Solis aquam vocant): sub lucis ortum tepida manat, medio die, cujus vehementissimus est calor, frigida eadem fluit, inclinato in vesperam calescit, media nocte fervida exaestuat, quoque nox propius vergit ad lucem, multum ex nocturno calore decrescit, donec sub ipsum diei ortum assueto tepore languescat.[4] Id, quod pro deo colitur, non eandem effigiem habet, quam vulgo diis artifices accommodaverunt: umbilico maxime similis est habitus, smaragdo et gemmis coagmentatus. Hunc, cum responsum petitur, navigio aurato gestant sacerdotes, multis argenteis pateris ab utroque navigii latere pendentibus: sequuntur matronae virginesque, patrio more inconditum quoddam carmen canentes, quo propitiari Jovem credunt, ut certum edat oraculum.

32. Ac tum quidem regem propius adeuntem maximus natu e sacerdotibus filium appellat, hoc nomen illi parentem Jovem reddere affirmans. Ille se vero et accipere ait, et agnoscere, humanae sortis oblitus. Consuluit deinde, an[5] totius orbis imperium fatis sibi destinaret pater? Aeque in adulationem compositus, terrarum omnium rectorem fore ostendit. Post haec instituit quaerere, an omnes parentis sui interfectores poenas dedissent. Sacerdos parentem ejus negat ullius scelere posse violari, Philippi autem omnes luisse supplicia: adjecit, invictum fore, donec excederet ad deos. Sacrificio deinde facto, dona et sacerdotibus et deo data sunt, permissumque amicis, ut ipsi quoque[6] consulerent Jovem. Nihil amplius quaesierunt, quam an auctor esset sibi divinis honoribus colendi suum regem? Hoc quoque acceptum fore Jovi vates respondet. Vera et salubri aestimatione fides oraculi

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[1] Because they dwelt in tents, σκηναί.

[2] 'Dwelling near the Syrtes,' extensive sandbanks on the Libyan coast.

[3] It is really a mountain.

[4] 'Till it (as it were) becomes sickly with its usual tepidity.' Regarding the subjunctive with *donec*, see *Gram.* § 356.

[5] Cicero would have said *destinaretne sibi pater*, &c.

[6] 'That they likewise:' *et ipsi.*

vana perfecto ei videri potuisset:[1] sed fortuna, quos uni sibi credere coëgit,[2] magna ex parte avidos gloriae magis, quam capaces facit. Jovis igitur filium se non solum appellari passus est, sed etiam jussit, rerumque gestarum famam, dum augere vult[3] tali appellatione, corrupit. Et Macedones, assueti quidem regio imperio, sed in majore libertatis umbra,[4] quam ceterae gentes, immortalitatem affectantem contumacius quam aut ipsis expediebat, aut regi, aversati sunt. Sed haec suo quaeque tempori reserventur: nunc cetera exequi pergam.

33. Alexander, ab Hammone rediens, ut Mareotin paludem,[5] haud procul insula Pharo sitam, venit, contemplatus loci naturam, primum in ipsa insula statuerat urbem novam condere. Inde, ut apparuit magnae sedis insulam haud capacem esse, elegit urbi locum, ubi nunc est Alexandria, appellationem trahens ex nomine auctoris. Complexus quicquid soli est inter paludem ac mare, octoginta stadiorum muris ambitum destinat; et qui exaedificandae urbi praeessent relictis, Memphim petit. Cupido, haud injusta quidem, ceterum intempestiva, incesserat, non interiora modo Aegypti, sed etiam Aethiopiam invisere:[6] Memnonis Tithonique celebrata regia[7] cognoscendae vetustatis avidum trahebat paene extra terminos solis. Sed imminens bellum, cujus multo major supererat moles, otiosae peregrinationi tempora exemerat. Itaque Aegypto praefecit Aeschylum Rhodium et Peucesten Macedonem, quattuor milibus militum in praesidium regionis ejus datis: claustra Nili fluminis Polemonem tueri jubet; triginta ad hoc triremes datae. Africae deinde, quae Aegypto juncta est, praepositus Apollonius: vectigalibus ejusdem Africae

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[1] 'Had he formed a true and healthy (not a passionate one) estimation of the matter, the trustworthiness of the oracle would no doubt have appeared slight.'

[2] 'Those whom it (fortune) has forced to place confidence in itself alone.'

[3] Regarding the present with *dum*, see *Gram.* § 332.

[4] 'Under the shade;' that is, 'protection.' The Macedonians were not slavishly subject to their kings; for instance, the king could not put any Macedonian to death without a public trial, nor in war without a trial by his fellow-soldiers.

[5] The preposition *ad* ought properly to have been employed. See *Gram.* § 257, note 3. Its omission is a poetical construction. Mareotis is a very considerable lake, connected with the Nile by canals. It is difficult to say why our author calls it *palus* instead of *lacus*; perhaps because of its not being fed by springs of its own.

[6] For the construction *cupido invisere*, see *Gram.* § 374, note 3.

[7] What particular palace of the fabulous Ethiopian kings Memnon and his father Tithonus is referred to, we know not. There was a palace of Memnon at Abydus in Upper Egypt, and further south, in Thebes, there were other memorials of a monarch of this name.

Aegyptique Cleomenes. Ex finitimis urbibus commigrare Alexandriam jussis,[1] novam urbem magna multitudine implevit. Fama est, cum rex urbis futurae muros polenta, ut Macedonum mos est, destinasset,[2] avium greges advolasse, et polenta esse pastas: cumque id omen pro tristi a plerisque esset acceptum, respondisse vates, magnam illam urbem advenarum frequentiam culturam, multisque eam terris alimenta praebituram.[3]

34. Regem, cum secundo amni[4] deflueret, assequi cupiens Hector, Parmenionis filius, eximio aetatis flore, in paucis Alexandro carus, parvum navigium conscendit, pluribus, quam capere posset, impositis. Itaque mersa navis omnes destituit:[5] Hector, diu flumini obluctatus, cum madens vestis et adstricti crepidis pedes natare prohiberent, in ripam tamen semianimis evasit, et ut primum fatigatus spiritum laxavit, quem metus et periculum intenderat,[6] nullo adjuvante (quippe in diversum evaserant alii) exanimatus est. Amissi ejus desiderio vehementer afflictus est,[7] repertumque corpus magnifico extulit funere. Oneravit hunc dolorem nuntius mortis Andromachi, quem praefecerat Syriae: vivum Samaritae cremaverant. Ad cujus interitum vindicandum, quanta maxima celeritate potuit, contendit: advenientique sunt traditi tanti sceleris auctores. Andromacho deinde Memnona substituit, affectisque supplicio, qui praetorem interemerant, tyrannos, inter quos[8] Methymnaeorum Aristonicum et Chrysolaum, popularibus suis tradidit: quos illi ob injurias tortos necaverunt. Atheniensium deinde, Rhodiorum[9] et Chiorum legatos audit. Athenienses victoriam gratulabantur,[10] et ut captivi Graecorum suis restituerentur, orabant: Rhodii et Chii de praesidio querebantur. Omnes aequa desiderare visi, impetraverunt. Mitylenaeis

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[1] Supply *hominibus*, which we take out of *magna multitudine.*

[2] 'Had marked out beforehand.' Some attribute Alexander's use of meal for this purpose, not to a *mos Macedonum*, but to an accidental want of chalk.

[3] In after years Alexandria supplied Rome with corn to a great extent.

[4] In this expression, 'down the river,' *amne* is the ordinary form. *Amni*, however, also occurs.

[5] 'The ship sunk, and left them helpless.'

[6] 'Fear and danger (that is, the fear occasioned by his danger) had overstrained his lungs' (*spiritus*, 'breath').

[7] Namely, the king, Alexander.

[8] To be resolved into *et inter eos.*

[9] According to the rule, there ought to have been the conjunction *et*. See Zumpt, § 783.

[10] Regarding the government of *gratulor*, see Zumpt, § 629, note.

quoque, ob egregiam in partes[1] fidem, et pecuniam, quam in bellum impenderant, reddidit, et magnam regionem finibus adjecit. Cypriorum quoque regibus, qui et a Dareo defecerant ad ipsum, et oppugnanti Tyrum miserant classem pro merito honos habitus est. Amphoterus deinde, classis praefectus, ad liberandam Cretam missus (namque et Persarum et Spartanorum armis pleraque ejus insulae obsidebantur), ante omnia mare a piraticis classibus vindicare jussus: quippe obnoxium[2] erat praedonibus, in bellum utroque rege converso. His compositis, Herculi Tyrio ex auro crateram cum triginta pateris dicavit: imminensque Dareo, ad Euphraten iter pronuntiari jussit.

35. At Dareus, cum Aegypto[3] devertisse in Africam hostem comperisset, dubitaverat, utrumne[4] circa Mesopotamiam subsisteret, an interiora regni sui peteret, haud dubie potentior auctor praesens futurus ultimis gentibus impigre bellum capessendi,[5] quas aegre per praefectos suos moliebatur.[6] Sed ut idoneis auctoribus fama vulgavit, Alexandrum cum omnibus copiis, quamcunque ipse adissit regionem, petiturum: haud ignarus, quam cum strenuo res esset, omnia longinquarum gentium auxilia Babyloniam contrahi jussit. Bactriani Scythaeque et Indi convenerant: nam[7] et ceterarum gentium copiae partibus simul affuerunt. Ceterum, cum dimidio ferme major esset exercitus, quam in Cilicia fuerat, multis arma deerant, quae summa cura comparabantur. Equitibus equisque tegumenta erant ex ferreis laminis serie inter se connexis: quis antea praeter jacula nihil dederat, scuta gladiique adjiciebantur: equorumque domandi greges peditibus distributi sunt, ut major pristino esset equitatus: ingensque, ut crediberat, hostium terror, ducentae falcatae quadrigae,[8] unicum illarum gentium auxilium, secutae sunt. Ex summo temone hastae praefixae ferro eminebant, utrimque a jugo ternos direxerat gladios, inter radios rotarum plura spicula

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[1] 'Towards his (Alexander's) party.' In Latin the pronoun is not used when the party is that of the subject of the sentence, as in this case Alexander.

[2] 'Exposed to,' 'given up to.'

[3] According to rule, *ab Aegypto.* See *Gram.* § 307, 3.

[4] See regarding the interrogative particles, iii. 17.

[5] 'Whilst he would no doubt, by his presence, act as a more powerful stimulus to the very remote tribes, to undertake and conduct the war with activity.'

[6] 'To set in motion.' *Moliri* may be applied to almost any toilsome, laborious affair.

[7] To explain the 'for,' a thought must be supplied: such as, 'But I need not mention these particularly.'

[8] 'Scythe-chariots.'

eminebant in adversum, aliae deinde falces summis rotarum orbibus[1] haerebant, et aliae in terram demissae,[2] quicquid obvium concitatis equis fuisset, amputaturae.

36. Hoc modo instructo exercitu ac perarmato,[3] Babylone copias movit. A parte dextra erat Tigris, nobilis fluvius, laevam tegebat Euphrates, agmen Mesopotamiae campos impleverat. Tigri deinde superato,[4] cum audisset, haud procul abesse hostem, Satropaten equitum praefectum cum mille delectis praemisit. Mazaeo praetori sex milia data, quibus hostem transitu amnis arceret: eidem mandatum, ut regionem, quam Alexander esset aditurus, popularetur atque ureret; quippe credebat, inopia debellari posse nihil habentem, nisi quod rapiendo occupasset: ipsi autem commeatus alii terra, alii Tigri amne subvehebantur.[5] Jam pervenerat Arbela vicum, nobilem sua clade facturus.[6] Hic commeatuum sarcinarumque majore parte deposita, Lycum amnem[7] ponte junxit, et per dies quinque, sicut ante Euphraten, trajecit exercitum. Inde octoginta fere stadia progressus, ad alterum amnem (Boumelo nomen est), castra posuit. Opportuna explicandis copiis regio erat, equitabilis et vasta planities. Ne stirpes quidem et brevia virgulta operiunt solum, liberque prospectus oculorum etiam ad ea, quae procul recessere, permittitur. Itaque si qua campi eminebant, jussit aequari, totumque fastigium extendi.

37. Alexandro, qui numerum copiarum ejus, quantum procul conjectari poterat, aestimabant, vix fecerunt fidem, tot milibus caesis, majores copias esse reparatas. Ceterum omnis periculi et maxime multitudinis contemptor, undecimis castris ad Euphraten[8] pervenit: quo pontibus juncto equites primos ire, phalangem sequi jubet, Mazaeo, qui ad inhibendum transitum ejus cum sex milibus equitum occurrerat, non auso periculum sui facere.[9] Paucis deinde, non

[1] 'Upon the felloes of the wheels.'

[2] These appear to have projected from the axletree, in order that, if any of the enemies threw themselves between the wheels, so as to escape the side scythes, these might cut them in pieces.

[3] 'Armed completely, cap-à-piè.' Compare chap. 38.

[4] That is, he crossed to the east bank of the Tigris, and marched in the direction of Ninus, the ancient capital of Assyria, which, however, he did not reach.

[5] 'Were conveyed up the river Tigris.'

[6] 'Which he was doomed by fate to make celebrated by his defeat.' The town is now called *Erbil*.

[7] Now called the great *Zab*. The little *Zab* flows southwards, and falls into the Tigris.

[8] Near Thapsacus, as we are informed by Arrian, the Greek historian of Alexander's expedition.

[9] 'To make a trial of himself;' that is, 'to try his strength.'

ad quietem, sed ad praeparandos animos, diebus datis militi, strenue hostem insequi coepit, metuens, ne interiora regni sui peteret, sequendusque esset per loca omni solitudine atque inopia vasta. Igitur quarto die praeter Arbela[1] penetrat ad Tigrin. Tota regio ultra amnem recenti fumabat incendio: quippe Mazaeus, quaecunque adierat, haud secus quam[2] hostis urebat. Ac primo caligine, quam fumus effuderat, obscurante lucem, insidiarum metu substitit: deinde ut speculatores praemissi tuta omnia nuntiaverunt, paucos equitum ad temptandum vadum fluminis praemisit: cujus altitudo primo summa equorum pectora, mox, ut in medium alveum ventum est, cervices quoque aequabat. Nec sane alius ad Orientis plagam tam violentus invehitur, multorum torrentium non aquas solum, sed etiam saxa secum trahens. Itaque a celeritate, qua defluit, Tigri[3] nomen est inditum, quia Persica lingua *Tigrin* sagittam appellant.

38. Igitur pedes, velut divisus in cornua, circumdato equitatu,[4] levatis super capita armis, haud aegre ad ipsum alveum penetrat. Primus inter pedites rex egressus in ripam, vadum militibus manu, quando vox exaudiri non poterat, ostendit. Sed gradum firmare vix poterant, cum modo saxa lubrica vestigium fallerent, modo rapidior unda subduceret.[5] Praecipuus erat labor eorum, qui humeris onera portabant: quippe cum semetipsos regere non possent, in rapidos gurgites incommodo onere auferebantur, et dum sua quisque spolia consequi studet, major inter ipsos, quam cum amni, orta luctatio est; cumulique sarcinarum passim fluitantes plerosque perculerant.[6] Rex monere,[7] ut satis haberent arma retinere, cetera se redditurum. Sed neque consilium, neque imperium accipi poterat: obstrepebat hinc metus, praeter hunc invicem nutantium[8] mutuus clamor. Tandem qua leniore tractu amnis aperit vadum, emersere, nec quic-

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[1] 'Passing by Arbela,' undertaking farther north the passage of the Tigris.

[2] That is, *non minus quam.* As *non secus* is equivalent to *aeque*, we can say *non secus ac* or *atque.*

[3] Another form is *Tigridi.*

[4] *Circumdatus equitatu* might also have been said. See Zumpt, § 418.

[5] Two things rendered the crossing difficult: *first*, the stones were slippery; and *secondly*, the rapidity of the current was such as sometimes to carry the men down the river.

[6] 'Struck violently, and severely injured.'

[7] A good instance of the descriptive infinitive. See *Gram.* § 390.

[8] *Nutare* is 'to wave to and fro,' 'to be on the point of falling;' and *invicem*, 'in turn,' 'sometimes one, and sometimes another.' The fear of the men and their noise prevented Alexander's advice from

quam praeter paucas sarcinas desideratum est. Deleri potuit[1] exercitus, si quis vincere ausus esset, sed perpetua fortuna regis avertit inde hostem. Sic Granicum, tot milibus equitum peditumque in ulteriore stantibus ripa, superavit,[2] sic angustis in Ciliciae callibus tantam multitudinem hostium: audaciae quoque, qua maxime viguit, ratio minui potest,[3] quia nunquam in discrimen venit, an temere[4] fecisset. Mazaeus, qui, si transeuntibus flumen supervenisset, haud dubie oppressurus fuit incompositos, in ripa demum et jam perarmatos adequitare[5] coepit. Mille admodum equites praemiserat. Quorum paucitate Alexander explorata, deinde contempta, praefectum Paeonum[6] equitum Aristona laxatis habenis invehi jussit. Insignis eo die pugna equitum et praecipue Aristonis fuit: praefectum equitatus Persarum Satropaten directa in gutture[7] hasta transfixit, fugientemque per medios hostes consecutus, ex equo praecipitavit, et obluctanti caput gladio dempsit, quod relatum magna cum laude ante regis pedes posuit.

39. Biduo ibi rex stativa[8] habuit: in proximum deinde pronuntiari iter jussit. Sed prima fere vigilia luna deficiens, primum nitorem sideris sui condidit, deinde sanguinis colore suffuso lumen omne foedavit, sollicitisque sub ipsum tanti discriminis casum ingens religio, et ex ea formido quaedam incussa est. Diis invitis in ultimas terras trahi se querebantur: jam nec flumina posse adiri[9] nec sidera pristinum servare

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being heard, far less followed. In the use of *obstrepebat*, the author has in view the *clamor* which follows. In its connection with *metus*, we must give it merely the general idea of *prohibebat*.

[1] It might certainly. But since there was nothing but the possibility, for the army was *not* destroyed, *potuit* is equivalent to *potuisset*, and the latter tense might have been used here. See *Gram.* § 346. This remark applies also to *oppressurus fuit*, a few lines below. Regarding the *conjugatio periphrastica* used in this latter case, see *Gram.* § 149.

[2] This verb is used in two senses—'to cross,' and 'to conquer.' Both uses are very common, and ambiguity, with applications so distinct, is scarcely possible.

[3] *Ratio* is an 'account' or 'reckoning,' and this *minuitur*, if the boldness is found not to be so great as was supposed.

[4] Equivalent to *inconsulto*. See Zumpt, § 280.

[5] Regarding the accusative with this verb, see *Gram.* § 250.

[6] The Paeonians were a barbarous or half Hellenised tribe bordering on the Macedonians, and subject to them. The Macedonian light cavalry consisted principally of Paeonians, Agrianians, and Thracians.

[7] Properly *in guttur*.

[8] 'A standing camp.' *Castra*, with the adjectives *stativa, hiberna*, and *aestiva*, is usually omitted.

[9] 'There were no more rivers at which they could arrive.' A foolish enough idea certainly, but according to the geographical

fulgorem, vastas terras, deserta omnia occurrere: in unius hominis jactationem tot milium sanguinem impendi: fastidio esse patriam, abdicare Philippum patrem, coelum vanis cogitationibus petere.[1] Jam prope seditionem[2] res erat, cum ad omnia[3] interritus duces principesque militum frequentes adesse praetorio,[4] Aegyptiosque vates, quos coeli ac siderum peritissimos esse credebat, quid sentirent, expromere jubet. At illi, qui satis scirent, temporum orbes implere destinatas vices, lunamque deficere, cum aut terram subiret, aut sole premeretur,[5] rationem quidem ipsis perceptam non edocent vulgus: ceterum affirmant, solem Graecorum, lunam esse Persarum, quotiensque illa deficiat, ruinam stragemque illis gentibus portendi: veteraque exempla percensent Persidis regum, quos adversis diis pugnasse, lunae ostendisset defectio. Nulla res multitudinem efficacius regit, quam superstitio; alioquin impotens,[6] saeva, mutabilis, ubi vana religione capta est, melius vatibus, quam ducibus suis paret. Igitur edita in vulgus Aegyptiorum responsa rursus ad spem et fiduciam erexere torpentes.

40. Rex, impetu animorum utendum ratus, secunda vigilia castra movit: dextra Tigrim habebat, a laeva montes, quos Gordaeos vocant.[7] Hoc ingressis iter, speculatores, qui praemissi erant, sub lucis ortum, Dareum adventare nuntiaverunt. Instructo igitur milite et composito agmine, antecedebat. Sed Persarum moratores[8] erant, mille ferme, qui speciem magni agminis fecerant: quippe ubi explorari vera non possunt, falsa per metum augentur. His cognitis, rex cum paucis suorum assecutus agmen refugientium ad suos, alios cecidit, cepit alios: equitesque praemisit speculatum, simul ut ignem, quo barbari cremaverant vicos, extinguerent. Quippe fugi-

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knowledge of a common soldier among the Greeks, the Tigris was *actually* the farthest river in the East.

[1] The subject is omitted, *eum*—that is, *Alexandrum*.

[2] 'A mutiny was imminent.' *Prope* is properly an adverb, but is also used as a preposition, governing the accusative.

[3] 'At all these things.'

[4] A military expression, in which the dative *praetorio* is used instead of *ad praetorium*.

[5] The monthly waning and disappearance of the moon is so regular an occurrence as to excite in us no particular remark. Curtius, however, thinks proper to mention that the soothsayers were acquainted with the cause of this, as well as of lunar eclipses.

[6] *Impotens* used absolutely, must be understood as *sui non potens*, 'not master of one's self.'

[7] Or *Gordyaeos*, for the people were called *Gordyaei*, the modern Kurds.

[8] 'Marauding stragglers.' The French *maraudeur*, and English *marauder*, come from *morator*.

entes raptim tectis acervisque frumenti injecerant flammas, quae cum in summo haesissent, ad inferiora nondum penetraverant. Extincto igitur igne, plurimum frumenti repertum est: copia aliarum quoque rerum abundare coeperunt. Ea res ipsa militi ad persequendum hostem animum incendit: quippe urente et populante eo terram, festinandum erat, ne incendio cuncta praeciperet. In rationem ergo necessitas versa est,[1] quippe Mazaeus, qui antea per otium vicos incenderat, jam fugere contentus, pleraque inviolata hosti reliquit. Alexander haud longius centum quinquaginta stadiis Dareum a se abesse compererat. Itaque ad satietatem quoque copia commeatuum instructus, quatriduo in eodem loco substitit. Interceptae deinde Darei litterae sunt, quibus Graeci milites sollicitabantur, ut regem aut interficerent, aut proderent: dubitavitque, an[2] eas pro contione recitaret, satis confisus Graecorum quoque erga se benivolentiae ac fidei. Sed Parmenio deterruit, non esse talibus promissis imbuendas[3] aures militum affirmans: patere vel unius insidiis regem: nihil nefas esse avaritiae. Secutus consilii auctorem, castra movit.

41. Iter facienti spado e captivis, qui Darei uxorem comitabantur, deficere eam nuntiat, et vix spiritum ducere. Itineris continui labore animique aegritudine fatigata, inter socrus et virginum filiarum manus collapsa erat, deinde et extincta. Id ipsum nuntians alius supervenit. Et rex haud secus, quam si parentis[4] mors nuntiata esset, crebros edidit gemitus, lacrimisque obortis, quales Dareus profudisset, in tabernaculum, in quo mater erat Darei, defuncto assidens corpori,[5] venit. Hic vero renovatus est maeror, ut prostratam humi vidit. Recenti malo priorum quoque admonita, receperat in gremium adultas virgines, magna quidem mutui doloris solatia, sed quibus ipsa deberet esse solatio. In conspectu erat nepos parvulus, ob id ipsum miserabilis, quod nondum sentiebat calamitatem, ex maxima parte ad ipsum redundantem. Crederes,[6] Alexandrum inter suas necessitudines flere, et

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1 'The necessity—namely, of pursuing the enemy without intermission, in order to obtain provision—changed itself into a plan or system;' that is, what before had been done from necessity, was done now from motives of policy or generalship.

2 In English we translate this *an* by 'whether——not,' for it implies an inclination towards the affirmative.

3 *Imbuere*—literally, 'to dip in,' 'to soak;' figuratively, 'to fill,' 'to accustom.'

4 Namely, *suae*. See Zumpt, § 768.

5 *Corpus defunctum*, for *mortua*, the dead queen. *Cadaver* would be unbearable.

6 'One would believe;' that is, 'would have believed.' See *Gram.* § 345.

solatia non adhibere, sed quaerere. Cibo certe abstinuit, omnemque honorem funeri, patrio Persarum more, servavit, dignus hercule, qui nunc quoque tantum[1] et mansuetudinis et continentiae ferat fructum. Semel omnino[2] eam viderat, quo die capta est, nec ut ipsam, sed ut Darei matrem videret, eximiamque pulchritudinem formae ejus non libidinis habuerat[3] invitamentum, sed gloriae.

42. E spadonibus, qui circa reginam erant, Tyriotes, inter trepidationem[4] lugentium elapsus per eam portam, quae, quia ab hoste aversa erat, levius custodiebatur, ad Darei castra pervenit, exceptusque a vigilibus, in tabernaculum regis perducitur, gemens et veste lacerata. Quem ut conspexit Dareus, multiplici doloris expectatione commotus, et quid potissimum timeret, incertus, Vultus, inquit, tuus nescio quod ingens malum praefert, sed cave miseri hominis auribus parcas: didici esse infelix,[5] et saepe calamitatis solatium est nosse sortem suam. Num, quod maxime suspicor et loqui timeo, ludibria meorum[6] nuntiaturus es, mihi et, ut credo, ipsis quoque omni tristiora supplicio? Ad haec Tyriotes, Istud quidem[7] procul abest, inquit: quantuscunque enim reginis honos ab his qui parent[8] haberi potest, tuis a victore servatus est, sed uxor tua paulo ante excessit e vita. Tum vero non gemitus modo, sed etiam ejulatus totis castris exaudiebantur: nec dubitavit Dareus, quin interfecta esset, quia nequisset contumeliam perpeti. Exclamatque amens dolore: Quod ego tantum nefas commisi, Alexander? quem tuorum propinquorum necavi, ut hanc vicem restitueres saevitiae meae? Odisti me, non quidem provocatus: sed finge, justum intulisse te bellum, cum feminis ergo agere debueras? Tyriotes affirmare per deos patrios, nihil in eam gravius esse consultum: ingemuisse etiam Alexandrum morti, et non parcius flevisse, quam

[1] 'So great a reward'—namely, as fame has bestowed on him, or as we now confer on him.

[2] 'Once in all;' that is, only once.

[3] 'He had considered her beauty as an incitement, not to lust, but to glory;' for the personal attractions of the queen rendered his continence highly honourable to him.

[4] 'Confusion.'

[5] 'I have learned to be unfortunate;' that is, I am accustomed to, and can bear, misfortune. This is very different from *didici me esse infelicem*. See *Gram.* § 374.

[6] 'The disgrace' or 'shameful treatment, of my relations.'

[7] 'That which you say.' This is the meaning of the pronoun *iste*. See *Gram.* § 115. *Quidem* only adds emphasis to the *istud*, and opposes the first clause of the sentence to the other, which is introduced by *sed*.

[8] 'By subjects. See Zumpt, § 714, 3.

ipse lacrimaret. Ob haec ipsa amantis animus in sollicitudinem suspicionemque revolutus est, desiderium captivae profecto a consuetudine stupri[1] ortum esse conjectans. Summotis igitur arbitris, uno dumtaxat Tyriote retento, jam non flens, sed suspirans, Videsne, inquit, Tyriote, locum mendacio non esse? tormenta jam hic erunt: sed ne expectaveris[2] per deos, si quid tibi tui regis reverentiae[3] est: num, quod et scire expeto, et quaerere pudet, ausus est et dominus, et juvenis? Ille quaestioni[4] corpus offerre, deos testes invocare, caste sancteque habitam esse reginam. Tandem ut fides facta est, vera esse quae affirmaret spado, capite velato diu flevit, manantibusque adhuc lacrimis, veste ab ore rejecta, ad coelum manus tendens, Dii patrii, inquit, primum mihi stabilite regnum: deinde, si de me jam transactum est, precor, ne quis potius Asiae rex sit, quam iste tam justus hostis, tam misericors victor.

43. Itaque quamquam, frustra pace bis petita, omnia in bellum consilia converterat, victus tamen continentia hostis, ad novas pacis condiciones ferendas decem legatos, cognatorum principes, misit: quos Alexander, consilio advocato, introduci jussit. E quibus maximus natu, Dareum, inquit, ut pacem a te jam hoc tertio[5] peteret, nulla vis subegit, sed justitia et continentia expressit. Matrem, conjugem, liberos ejus, nisi quod sine illo sunt, captos esse non sensimus: pudicitiae earum, quae supersunt, curam haud secus quam parens agens, reginas appellas, speciem pristinae fortunae retinere pateris. Vultum tuum video, qualis Darei fuit, cum dimitteremur ab eo: et ille tamen uxorem, tu hostem luges. Jam in acie stares, nisi cura te sepulturae ejus moraretur. Ecquid mirum est, si tam ab amico animo[6] pacem petit? quid opus est armis, inter quos odia sublata sunt? Antea imperio tuo finem destinabat Halym amnem, qui Lydiam terminat. Nunc, quicquid inter Hellespon-

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[1] 'Illicit intercourse.'

[2] 'Do not wait for this;' namely, the application of torture. For *ne* with the perfect subjunctive, see Zumpt, § 586.

[3] *Si quid reverentiae* for *si qua reverentia*. See *Gram.* § 275, (*a*).

[4] 'To the question;' that is, to the torture (*tormentis*).

[5] 'Now for the third time,' The numeral adverbs in *o*, equivalent to those in *um*, are really neuters of the ordinal numerals, and may take a pronoun in the same case *hoc* and *illo*, or for those in *um*, *hoc*, and *illud*, to express 'now' and 'then.' Compare x. 14, 3; and see *Gram.* § 109, note 1.

[6] *Amicus*, though commonly used as a substantive, is originally an adjective as here. (See Zumpt, § 410). *Tam* is here separated from the adjective, which it qualifies. Compare a similar case of *quam*, iv. 35.

tum et Euphraten est, in dotem filiae offert, quam tibi tradit: Ochum filium, quem habes, pacis et fidei obsidem retine, matrem et duas virgines filias redde: pro tribus corporibus triginta milia talentum auri[1] precatur accipias. Nisi moderationem animi tui notam haberem non dicerem hoc esse tempus, quo pacem non dare solum, sed etiam occupare deberes.[2] Respice, quantum post te reliqueris: intuere, quantum petas. Periculosum est praegrave imperium: difficile est enim continere, quod capere non possis. Videsne, ut navigia, quae modum excedunt, regi nequeant? Nescio, an[3] Dareus ideo tam multa amiserit, quia nimiae opes magnae jacturae locum faciunt. Facilius quaedam vincere, quam tueri: quam, hercule, expeditius manus nostrae rapiunt, quam continent! Ipsa mors uxoris Darei admonere te potest, minus jam misericordiae tuae licere, quam licuit.

44. Alexander, legatis excedere tabernaculo jussis, quid placeret ad consilium refert. Diu nemo quid sentiret ausus est dicere, incerta regis voluntate.[4] Tandem Parmenio, ante suasisse,[5] ait, ut captivos apud Damascum redimentibus redderet; ingentem pecuniam potuisse redigi ex his, qui multi vincti virorum fortium occuparent manus. Et nunc magnopere censere, ut unam anum et duas puellas, itinerum agminumque impedimenta, triginta milibus talentum auri permutet. Opimum regnum occupare posse[6] condicione, non bello, nec quemquam alium inter Istrum et Euphraten possedisse terras ingenti spatio intervalloque discretas. Macedoniam quoque potius respiceret, quam Bactra et Indos intueretur. Ingrata oratio regi fuit. Itaque ut finem dicendi fecit, Et ego, inquit, pecuniam quam gloriam mallem, si Parmenio essem. Nunc Alexander, de paupertate securus sum et me non mercatorem memini esse, sed regem. Nihil

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1 We cannot take this to mean 'talents of gold.' The sum would be too enormous. The genitive *auri* must be translated 'in gold;' that is, the money was to be paid in gold coins. This is particularly mentioned, because in Greece a talent was paid in 6000 *drachmae*—silver coins.

2 He says in effect, 'You ought not only to grant so advantageous a peace, but to be eager for it, and grasp after it.' But he delicately prefaces this with the declaration, that he would not have said it, had he not known the moderation of Alexander's mind.

3 'I know not indeed, but perhaps,' &c.

4 A characteristic feature of a king's council. It certainly too often happens that the members of such a council wait to hear their master's opinion, and then, whatever be their own private sentiments, chime in with it.

5 The subject *se* is omitted, a construction common enough in longer reported speeches. See *Gram.* § 385.

6 Supply the accusative of the person addressed, *Alexandrum*.

quidem habeo venale, sed fortunam meam utique[1] non vendo: captivos si placet reddi, honestius dono dabimus, quam pretio remittemus. Introductis deinde legatis, ad hunc modum respondit: Nuntiate Dareo, me, quae fecerim clementer et liberaliter, non amicitiae ejus tribuisse, sed naturae meae. Bellum cum captivis et feminis gerere non soleo: armatus sit oportet, quem oderim. Quodsi saltem pacem bona fide peteret, deliberarem forsitan, an darem. Verum enimvero, cum modo milites meos litteris ad proditionem, modo amicos ad perniciem meam pecunia sollicitet, ad internecionem mihi persequendus est, non ut justus hostis, sed ut percussor veneficus. Condiciones vero pacis, quas affertis si accepero, victorem eum faciunt.[2] Quae post Euphraten sunt, liberaliter donat. Ubi igitur me affamini? nempe ultra Euphraten sum. Summum ergo dotis quam promittit terminum castra mea transeunt. Hinc me depellite, ut sciam vestrum esse, quo[3] ceditis. Eadem liberalitate dat mihi filiam suam: nempe quam scio alicui servorum ejus nupturam.[4] Multum vero mihi praestat, si me Mazaeo generum praeponit! Ite, nuntiate regi vestro, et quae amisit, et quae adhuc habet, praemia esse belli: hoc regente utriusque terminos regni, id quemque habiturum, quod proximae lucis assignatura fortuna est. Legati respondent, cum bellum in animo sit, facere eum simpliciter, quod spe pacis non frustraretur. Ipsos petere, ut quamprimum dimittantur ad regem: eum quoque bellum parare debere. Dimissi nuntiant, adesse certamen.

45. Ille quidem confestim Mazaeum cum tribus equitum milibus ad itinera, quae hostis petiturus erat, occupanda praemisit. Alexander, corpori uxoris ejus justis persolutis omnique graviore comitatu intra eadem munimenta cum modico praesidio relicto, ad hostem contendit. Duo cornua diviserat[5] peditum, utrique lateri equite circumdato; impedimenta sequebantur agmen. Praemissum deinde cum citis[6] equitibus Menidan jubet explorare, ubi Dareus esset. At ille, cum Mazaeus haud procul consedisset, non ausus ultra procedere, nihil aliud, quam fremitum hominum hinnitumque equorum exaudisse, nuntiat. Mazaeus quoque, conspectis procul exploratoribus, in castra se recepit, adventus hostium

[1] 'Especially,' or 'under any circumstances.'

[2] 'They represent him as victor.'

[3] 'From which you retire,' or 'which you give up.' For the construction of *cedere*, and verbs of the same class, see *Gram.* § 298.

[4] *Mulier nubit alicui viro.* See Zumpt, § 406.

[5] That is, 'he had, by dividing the infantry, formed two wings.' The expression is therefore equivalent to *in duo cornua diviserat pedites*, or *peditem*.

[6] Equivalent to *levis armaturae*.

nuntius. Igitur Dareus, qui in patentibus campis decernere optabat, armari militem jubet, aciemque disponit. In laevo cornu Bactriani ibant equites, mille admodum, Dahae[1] totidem, et Arachosii[2] Susianique quattuor milia explebant. Hos centum falcati currus sequebantur. Proximus quadrigis erat Bessus cum octo milibus equitum item Bactrianis. Massagetae duobus milibus agmen ejus claudebant. Pedites his plurium gentium non immixtos, sed suae quisque nationis junxerat copias.[3] Persas deinde cum Mardis Sogdianisque Ariobarzanes et Orontobates ducebant. Illi partibus copiarum, summae Orsines praeerat, a septem Persis oriundus,[4] ad Cyrum quoque nobilissimum regem originem sui[5] referens. Hos aliae gentes, ne sociis quidem satis notae, sequebantur. Post quas quinquaginta quadrigas[6] Phradates magno Caspiorum agmine antecedebat. Indi, ceterique rubri maris accolae, nomina verius quam auxilia, post currus erant. Claudebatur hoc agnem aliis falcatis curribus: quis peregrinum militem adjunxerat. Hunc Armenii, quos minores appellant, Armenios Babylonii, utrosque Belitae, et qui montes Cossaeorum[7] incolebant, sequebantur. Post hos ibant Gortuae, gentis quidem Euboicae, Medos quondam secuti, sed jam degeneres, et patrii moris ignari.[8] Applicuerat his Phrygas et Cataonas. Parthyaeorum deinde gens, incolentium terras, quas nunc Parthi Scythia profecti tenent,[9] claudebant agmen. Haec sinistri cornus acies fuit. Dex-

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[1] These lived on the Jaxartes, near the nomadic Scythians.

[2] The district of Arachosia lay between the province of Gedrosia on the Indian Ocean, and the mountain range of Paropamisus.

[3] The grammatical subject of *junxerat* is *quisque*, which here denotes 'each commander.' Curtius would probably have made *praetores Darei* the subject, with the verb of course plural, had not the subdivision and mention of separate nations compelled him to use *quisque;* for *quisque* is *omnes* distributively. See Zumpt, § 710.

[4] 'Sprung from the seven Persians;' that is, from one of the seven who conspired to overthrow the usurper Smerdis. When Darius, the son of Hystaspes, and one of the seven, was created king, he conferred on the others and their descendants the highest privileges in the realm.

[5] *Suam* also might have been said. See *Gram.* § 273, note 4.

[6] It might have been *quadrigis*.

[7] To the north of the province of *Susiana*, between it and Media.

[8] We know nothing of this voluntary immigration of Euboeans into Persia. In the first Persian invasion of Greece, the inhabitants of Eretria were forcibly removed, and settled in the neighbourhood of Susa.

[9] The Parthians, who were known to the Romans in the time of Augustus, were, as Curtius here tells us, a different people from the Parthyaeans of the age of Alexander. Probably, however, they were merely another branch of the same great stock.

trum tenebant natio majoris Armeniae, Cadusiique,[1] et Cappadoces, et Syri, ac Medi. His quoque falcati currus quinquaginta erant. Summa totius exercitus, equites quadraginte quinque milia, pedestris acies ducenta milia[2] expleverat. Hoc modo instructi decem stadia procedunt, jussique subsistere, armati hostem expectabant.

46. Alexandri exercitum pavor, cujus causa non suberat, invasit: quippe lymphati[3] trepidare coeperunt, omnium pectora occulto metu percurrente. Coeli fulgor tempore aestivo ardenti similis internitens[4] ignis praebuit speciem, flammasque ex Darei castris splendere, velut illati temere praesidiis[5] credebant. Quodsi perculsis Mazaeus, qui praesidebat itineri, supervenisset, ingens clades accipi potuit: nunc,[6] dum ille segnis in eo quem occupaverat tumulo sedet, contentus non lacessi, Alexander, cognito pavore exercitus, signum ut consisterent dari, ante ipsos arma deponere ac levare corpora, jubet, admonens, nullam subiti causam esse terroris, hostem procul stare. Tandem compotes sui pariter arma et animos recepere:[7] nec quicquam ex praesentibus tutius visum est, quam eodem loco castra munire. Postero die Mazaeus, qui cum delectis equitum in edito colle, ex quo Macedonum prospiciebantur castra, consederat, sive metu, sive quia speculari modo jussus erat, ad Dareum rediit. Macedones eum ipsum collem, quem deseruerat, occupaverunt: nam et tutior planitie erat, et inde acies hostium, quae in campo explicabatur, conspici poterat. Sed caligo, quam circa humidi effuderant montes, universae quidem rei faciem non abstulit, ceterum[8] agminum discrimina atque ordinem prohibuit perspici. Multitudo inundaverat campos, fremitusque

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[1] A tribe inhabiting a part of Media between the Caspian Sea and the Caucasus.

[2] Arrian states the number at a million. We ought therefore perhaps to read *decies centena milia.*

[3] 'Beside themselves,' 'possessed.' The old etymologists derive the word *lymphati* from *nympha*, because the sort of derangement which it expresses was attributed to the operation of hostile nymphs, or, as we would say, witches.

[4] That is, *nitens inter nubens.*

[5] *Praesidia* are here the lines of the Persians. Compare iv. 19, note 6.

[6] This *nunc* so emphatically placed puts the reality in strong antithesis to the *clades* which might have been.

[7] 'They resumed their arms, and again took courage.' The application of the same verb *recipere* to both these ideas is called by grammarians a *zeugma*. In our language it has rather a ludicrous effect to say, 'They took courage, and their arms.'

[8] *Ceterum* properly signifies 'as for the rest,' but is often used, especially by Curtius, in the same sense as *sed.*

tot milium etiam procul stantium aures impleverat. Fluctuari animo rex, et modo suum, modo Parmenionis consilium sera[1] aestimatione perpendere, quippe eo ventum erat, unde recipi exercitus, nisi victor, sine clade non posset. Itaque, dissimulato metu, mercenarium equitem ex Paeonia praecedere jubet. Ipse phalangem, sicut antea dictum est, in duo cornua extenderat: utrumque cornu equites tegebant. Jamque nitidior lux, discussa caligine, aciem hostium ostenderat, et Macedones, sive alacritate, sive taedio expectationis, ingentem pugnantium more edidere clamorem. Redditus et a Persis, nemora vallesque circumjectas terribili sono impleverat. Nec jam contineri Macedones poterant, quin cursu quoque ad hostem contenderent. Melius adhuc ratus in eodem tumulo castra munire, vallum jaci jussit: strenueque opere perfecto, in tabernaculum, ex quo tota acies hostium conspiciebatur, successit.

47. Tum vero universa futuri discriminis facies in oculis erat: armis insignibus equi virique splendebant, et omnia intentiore cura praeparari apud hostem, sollicitudo praetorum agmina sua interequitantium ostendébat, ac pleraque inania, sicut fremitus hominum, equorum hinnitus, armorum internitentium fulgor, sollicita expectatione mentem turbaverant. Igitur sive dubius animi,[2] sive ut suos experiretur, consilium adhibet, quid optimum factu esset, exquirens. Parmenio, peritissimus inter duces artium belli,[3] furto, non proelio opus esse censebat: intempesta nocte[4] opprimi posse hostes: discordes moribus, linguis, ad hoc somno et improviso periculo territos, quando in nocturna trepidatione coituros? At interdiu primum terribiles occursuras facies Scytharum Bactrianorumque: hirta illis ora et intonsas comas esse, praeterea eximiam vastorum[5] magnitudinem corporum. Vánis et inanibus[6] militem magis quam justis formidinis causis moveri.

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[1] Not merely 'late,' but 'too late.' The descriptive infinitive is very appropriately employed here to express the continued condition of the king's mind.

[2] Poetical for *animo*. See Zumpt, § 437.

[3] *Ars belli*, the art of war; *artes belli*, devices in war: *furtum* denotes a trick devised with cunning, and performed with secrecy.

[4] *Nox intempesta* is particularly that part of the night preceding midnight. The divisions of the night in common life were *luminibus accensis*, when the torches were lighted; *concubium*, bed-time; *intempesta nox*, or *ad mediam noctem*, near midnight; and *media nox*. Then followed *de media nocte*, after midnight; *gallicinium*, cock-crow. *Intempesta nocte* may be translated in a loose way, 'in the middle of the night.'

[5] 'Rough,' 'uncouth,' 'clumsy.'

[6] These may perhaps not be connected with *causis*, but be abla-

Deinde tantam multitudinem circumfundi paucioribus posse. Non in Ciliciae angustiis et inviis callibus, sed in aperta et lata planitie dimicare. Omnes fere Parmenioni assentiebantur: Polypercon haud dubie in eo consilio positam victoriam arbitrabatur. Quem intuens rex, namque Parmenionem, nuper acrius quam vellet[1] increpitum, rursus castigare non sustinebat, Latrunculorum,[2] inquit, et furum ista sollertia est, quam praecipitis mihi; quippe illorum votum unicum est fallere. Meae vero gloriae semper aut absentiam Darei, aut angustias locorum, aut furtum noctis obstare non patiar: palam luce aggredi certum est: malo me fortunae poeniteat, quam victoriae pudeat.[3] Ad haec illud quoque accedit: vigilias agere barbaros et in armis stare, ut ne decipi quidem possint, compertum habeo. Itaque ad proelium vos parate. Sic incitatos ad corpora curanda dimisit.

48. Dareus id, quod Parmenio suaserat, hostem facturum esse conjectans, frenatos equos stare, magnamque exercitus partem in armis esse, ac vigilias intentiore cura servari jusserat: ergo ignibus tota ejus castra fulgebant. Ipse cum ducibus propinquisque agmina in armis stantium circumibat, Solem et Mithren[4] sacrumque et aeternum invocans ignem, ut illis dignam vetere gloria majorumque monumentis[5] fortitudinem inspirarent. Et profecto, si qua divinae opis auguria humana mente concipi possent, deos stare secum. Illos nuper Macedonum animis subitam incussisse formidinem:[6] adhuc lymphatos ferri agique,[7] arma jacientes: expetere praesides Persarum imperii debitas e[8] vecordibus poenas. Nec ipsum ducem saniorem esse: quippe ritu ferarum praedam modo,

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tives of the neuter plurals *vana* and *inania*. Curtius is fond of using the neuter plural substantively.

[1] For this construction of *quam* with the subjunctive, see Zumpt, § 560, note.

[2] Diminutives do not always express smallness, but frequently also contempt. *Latro* is a bandit, a murderer; *latrunculus* is a base, common cut-throat.

[3] *Poenitet me* is not merely 'I repent of' having done something, but also 'I am discontented' with something which does not depend on me, but has some relation to me; accordingly here, 'I prefer discontentment with my fortune, to shame for my victory.' The sentiment is very good.

[4] A divinity in the Persian fire-worship, an assistant of the supreme god Ormuzd.

[5] *Monumenta* are here 'great deeds.'

[6] The question suggests itself, how Darius knew this. Perhaps deserters had brought him the information.

[7] These verbs, though properly applicable only to things, may also be applied to men who are *non compotes sui*—not masters of themselves.

[8] The more usual preposition would have been *a*.

quam expeteret, intuentem, in perniciem, quae ante praedam posita esset, incurrere. Similis apud Macedones quoque sollicitudo erat: noctemque, velut in eam certamine edicto, metu egerunt. Alexander, non alias magis territus, ad vota et preces Aristandrum vocari jubet. Ille in candida veste, verbenas[1] manu praeferens, capite velato praeibat preces regi, Jovem Minervamque et Victoriam propitianti.[2] Tunc quidem sacrificio rite perpetrato, reliquum noctis acquieturus in tabernaculum rediit. Sed nec somnum capere, nec quietem pati poterat. Modo e jugo montis aciem in dextrum Persarum cornu demittere agitabat, modo recta fronte concurrere hosti,[3] interdum haesitare, an potius in laevum detorqueret agmen. Tandem gravatum animi anxietate corpus altior somnus oppressit.

49. Jamque luce orta duces ad accipienda imperia convenerant, insolito circa praetorium silentio attoniti: quippe alias accersere ipsos, et interdum morantes castigare assueverat: tunc ne ultimo quidem rerum discrimine excitatum esse mirabantur, et non somno quiescere, sed pavore marcere[4] credebant. Non tamen quisquam ex custodibus corporis intrare tabernaculum audebat: et jam tempus instabat, nec miles injussu ducis aut arma capere poterat, aut in ordines ire. Diu Parmenio cunctatus, cibum ut caperent, ipse pronuntiat. Jamque exire necesse erat: tunc demum intrat tabernaculum, saepiusque nomine compellatum, cum voce non posset, tactu excitavit. Multa lux, inquit, est: instructam aciem hostis admovit: tuus miles adhuc inermis expectat imperium. Ubi est vigor ille animi tui? nempe excitare vigiles soles. Ad haec Alexander: Credisne, me prius somnum capere potuisse, quam exonerarem animum sollicitudine, quae quietem morabatur? signumque pugnae tuba dari jussit. Et cum in eadem admiratione Parmenio perseveraret, quod solutum se curis somnum cepisse dixisset, Minime, inquit, mirum est: ego enim, cum Dareus terram ureret, vicos excinderet, alimenta corrumperet, potens mei non eram: nunc vero quid metuam, cum acie decernere paret? Hercule votum meum implevit. Sed hujus consilii

[1] Twigs of sacred trees, such as the laurel, olive, and myrtle.

[2] 'Endeavouring to render the gods favourable (*propitii*) to the Macedonians;' commending himself to the gracious protection of Zeus, Athene, and Nike.

[3] *Cum hoste* is more usual. Alexander hesitated whether he ought not to make his principal attack in an oblique direction against the right or the left wing of the Persians. His final determination, however, was to draw up his men in a straight line, and to attack on all points at once.

[4] 'To be weak and powerless from fear.'

postea quoque ratio reddetur: vos ite ad copias, quibus quisque praeest. Ego jam adero, et quid fieri velim exponam. Raro admodum, admonitu magis amicorum, quam metu discriminis adeundi, thorace uti solebat, tunc quoque munimento corporis[1] sumpto, processit ad milites. Haud alias tam alacrem viderant regem: et vultu ejus interrito certam spem victoriae augurabantur.

50. Atque ille proruto vallo[2] exire copias jubet, aciemque disponit. In dextro cornu locati sunt equites, quos agema appellabant.[3] Praeerat his Clitus: cui junxit Philotae turmas, ceterosque praefectos equitum lateri ejus applicuit. Ultima Meleagri ala stabat: quam phalanx[4] sequebatur. Post phalangem Argyraspides erant: his Nicanor, Parmenionis filius, praeerat. In subsidiis[5] cum manu sua Coenos: post eum Orestae Lyncestaeque sunt: post illos Polypercon, dux peregrini militis. Hujus agminis princeps Amyntas erat: Philippus Balacri[6] eos regebat, in societatem nuper ascitus. Haec dextri cornus facies erat. In laevo Craterus Peloponnensium equites habebat, Achaeorum et Locrensium, et Maleon[7] turmis sibi adjunctis. Hos Thessali equites claudebant, Philippo duce. Peditum acies equitatu tegebatur. Frons laevi cornus haec erat. Sed ne circumiri posset a multitudine, ultimum agmen valida manu cinxerat. Cornua quoque subsidiis firmavit, non recta fronte, sed a latere positis, ut, si hostis circumvenire aciem temptasset, parata pugnae forent. Hic Agriani erant, quibus Attalus praeerat, adjunctis sagittariis Cretensibus. Ultimos ordines avertit a

[1] For *thorax*, but more generally, 'armour.'

[2] The rampart of earth was trodden down by their feet.

[3] These formed the royal body-guard. The bands (ἴλαι, *alae*) which were commanded by Philotas were stationed alongside of them.

[4] This is not correct, for *phalanx* means the Macedonian infantry generally. By a comparison of Arrian and Diodorus, we find that next to the cavalry came that corps of the Argyraspides, which was the infantry *agema*, or 'foot life-guards,' and then the other regiments of Argyraspides. The name of that division of the army was not at this time *Argyraspides*, but *Hypaspistae*. Curtius (viii. 17) himself tells us that they did not receive the former name till afterwards.

[5] That is, 'in the second line.' The foot soldiers, of whom he is now speaking, were called πεζέταιροι, and the different corps (*agmina*) were named according to the provinces from which they came. Curtius commits an error in regarding these as allies of the Macedonians and a still greater one in thinking that the soldiers of Polypercon were foreigners.

[6] Supply *filius*. See *Gram.* § 372, note 3.

[7] A tribe in the south of Thessaly. Regarding the form, see *Gram.* § 58, note 7.

fronte, ut totam aciem orbe[1] muniret. Illyrii hic erant, adjuncto milite mercede conducto. Thracas quoque simul objecerat leviter armatos. Adeoque aciem versabilem[2] posuit, ut, qui ultimi stabant, ne circumirentur, verti tamen, et in frontem circumagi possent. Itaque non prima, quam latera, non latera munitiora fuere, quam terga.

51. His ita ordinatis, praecipit, ut, si falcatos currus cum fremitu barbari emitterent, ipsi laxatis ordinibus impetum incurrentium silentio exciperent, haud dubius sine noxa transcursuros, si nemo se opponeret: sin autem sine fremitu immisissent, eos ipsi clamore terrerent, pavidosque equos telis utrimque suffoderent. Qui cornibus praeerant, extendere ea jussi, ita ut nec circumvenirentur, si artius[3] starent, nec tamen ultimam aciem exinanirent. Impedinenta cum captivis, inter quos mater liberique Darei custodiebantur, haud procul acie in edito colle constituit, modico praesidio relicto. Laevum cornu, sicut alias, Parmenioni tuendum, datum: ipse in dextro stabat. Nondum ad jactum teli pervenerant, cum Bion quidam transfuga, quanto maximo cursu potuerat, ad regem pervenit: nuntians, murices[4] ferreos in terram defodisse Dareum, qua hostem equites emissurum esse credebat, notatumque certo signo locum, ut fraus evitari a suis posset. Asservari transfuga jusso, duces convocat: expositoque quod nuntiatum erat, monet, ut regionem monstratam declinent, equitemque periculum edoceant.

52. Ceterum hortantem exercitus exaudire[5] non poterat, usum aurium intercipiente fremitu duorum agminum, sed in conspectu omnium duces et proximum quemque interequitans alloquebatur: Emensis tot terras in spem victoriae, de qua dimicandum foret, hoc unum superesse discrimen. Granicum hic amnem, Ciliciaeque montes; et Syriam Aegyptumque praeeuntibus[6] raptas, ingentia spei gloriaeque incitamenta, referebat. Reprehensos ex fuga Persas pugnaturos, quia fugere non possent. Tertium jam diem metu exsangues, armis suis oneratos in eodem vestigio haerere. Nullum desperationis illorum majus indicium esse, quam quod urbes, quod agros suos urerent, quicquid non corrupissent, hostium esse[7] confessi. Nomina modo vana gentium ignotarum ne extimes-

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[1] 'All round.'

[2] 'Versatile,' 'mobile,' 'fickle.'

[3] 'Too closely.'

[4] Triangular pieces of iron, with sharp points, for laming the horses.

[5] 'To hear, so as to understand.' This is the proper meaning of *exaudire*, not the mere action of the sense of hearing.

[6] *Praeeuntibus;* dative for ablative with *ab*. See *Gram.* § 271.

[7] 'To belong to the enemy.' See *Gram.* § 278.

cerent. Neque enim ad belli discrimen pertinere, qui ab his Scythae, quive Cadusii appellarentur.[1] Ob id ipsum, quod ignoti essent, ignobiles esse. Nunquam ignorari viros fortes: at imbelles, ex latebris suis erutos, nihil praeter nomina afferre. Macedonas virtute assecutos, ne quis toto orbe locus esset, qui tales viros ignoraret. Intuerentur barbarorum inconditum agmen: alium nihil praeter jaculum habere, alium funda saxa librare, paucis justa[2] arma esse. Itaque illinc plures stare: hinc plures dimicaturos. Nec postulare se, ut fortiter capesserent proelium, ni ipse ceteris fortitudinis fuisset exemplum. Se ante prima signa dimicaturum. Spondere pro se tot cicatrices, totidem corporis decora: scire ipsos, unum paene se praedae communis exsortem, in illis colendis ornandisque usurpare[3] victoriae praemia. Haec se fortibus viris dicere. Si qui dissimiles eorum essent, illa fuisse dicturum: pervenisse eo, unde fugere non possent. Tot terrarum spatia emensis, tot amnibus montibusque post tergum objectis, iter in patriam et penates manu esse faciendum. Sic duces, sic proximi militum instincti sunt.

53. Dareus in laevo cornu erat, magno suorum agmine, delectis equitum peditumque stipatus:[4] contempseratque paucitatem hostis, vanam[5] aciem esse, extentis cornibus, ratus. Ceterum, sicut curru eminebat, dextra laevaque ad circumstantia agmina oculos manusque circumferens. Terrarum, inquit, quas Oceanus hinc alluit, illinc claudit Hellespontus, paulo ante domini, jam non de gloria, sed de salute, et, quod saluti praeponitis, libertate pugnandum est. Hic dies imperium, quo nullam amplius vidit aetas, aut constituet,[6] aut finiet. Apud Granicum minima virium parte cum hoste certavimus: in Cilicia victos Syria poterat excipere: magna munimenta regni Tigris atque Euphrates erant. Ventum est eo, unde pulsis ne fugae quidem locus est. Omnia tam diutino bello exhausta post tergum sunt: non incolas suos urbes, non cultores habent terrae. Conjuges quoque et liberi sequuntur hanc aciem, parata hostibus praeda, nisi

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[1] The Persians give these names to parts of their army; but the tribes are unknown to the Greeks, which would not be the case were they really distinguished for valour. The Macedonians are known throughout the world: these thoughts were well calculated to raise the pride and courage of the soldiers whom Alexander was addressing.

[2] 'Proper arms,' such as deserved the name.

[3] 'He employed,' 'spent.'

[4] 'Closely surrounded.'

[5] He considered the line of battle as thin, weak, unsubstantial; *vanus*, properly where there is no substance.

[6] 'Establish; place on a firm footing.'

pro carissimis pignoribus corpora opponimus. Quod mearum fuit partium,[1] exercitum, quem paene immensa planities vix caperet,[2] comparavi: equos, arma distribui: commeatus, ne tantae multitudini deessent, providi: locum, in quo acies explicari posset, elegi. Cetera in vestra potestate sunt: audete modo vincere, famamque, infirmissimum adversùs fortes viros telum, contemnite.

54. Temeritas[3] est, quam adhuc pro virtute timuistis: quae ubi primum impetum effudit, velut quaedam animalia emisso aculeo torpet.[4] Hi vero campi deprehendere paucitatem, quam Ciliciae montes absconderant. Videtis ordines raros, cornua extenta, mediam aciem vanam, exhaustam: nam ultimi, quos locavit aversos, terga jam praebent. Obteri mehercule equorum ungulis possunt, etiamsi nil praeter falcatos currus emisero. Et bello vicerimus, si vicimus proelio: nam ne illis quidem ad fugam locus est: hinc Euphrates, illinc Tigris prohibet inclusos.[5] Et quae antea pro illis erant, in contrarium versa sunt. Nostrum mobile et expeditum agmen est, illud praeda grave. Implicatos ergo spoliis nostris trucidabimus, eademque res et causa erit victoriae et fructus. Quodsi quem e vobis nomen gentis movet, cogitet, Macedonum illic arma esse, non corpora. Multum enim sanguinem invicem hausimus, et semper gravior in paucitate jactura est. Nam Alexander, quantuscunque ignavis et timidis videri potest, unum animal est, et si quid mihi creditis, temerarium et vecors, adhuc nostro pavore, quam sua virtute felicius. Nihil autem potest esse diuturnum, cui non subest ratio. Licet felicitas aspirare videatur,[6] tamen ad ultimum temeritati non sufficit. Praeterea breves et mutabiles vices rerum sunt, et fortuna nunquam simpliciter indulget. Forsitan ita dii fata ordinaverunt, ut Persarum imperium, quod secundo cursu per ducentos triginta annos ad summum fastigium evexerant, magno motu concuterent magis, quam affligerent[7] admonerentque nos fragilitatis humanae, cujus nimia in prosperis rebus oblivio est. Modo Graecis ultro bellum infereba-

[1] 'What was my business,' or 'my share of the duty.'

[2] 'So great an army that the immense plain can scarcely contain it.' The imperfect is used because it is viewed as the intention of the king, when he set about the collection of the army, to make it so large.

[3] 'Unreflecting rashness.' Compare, regarding *temere*, Zumpt, § 280.

[4] 'Is powerless.'

[5] Curtius makes Darius speak as if the field of battle lay between the Tigris and the Euphrates; whereas it was beyond both rivers.

[6] Understand *ei*. 'Though fortune seems to breathe upon him.' *Aspirat* equivalent to *favet*.

[7] 'Dash to the ground.'

mus: nunc in sedibus nostris propulsamus illatum. Jactamur invicem varietate fortunae. Videlicet imperium, quia mutuo affectamus, una gens non capit.

55. Ceterum, etiamsi spes non subesset,[1] necessitas tamen stimulare deberet: ad extrema perventum est. Matrem meam, duas filias, Ochum in spem hujus imperii genitum, principes, illam sobolem regiae stirpis, duces vestros regum instar,[2] vinctos habet: nisi quid in vobis,[3] ipse ego majore mei[4] parte captivus sum. Eripite viscera mea[5] ex vinculis: restituite mihi pignora, pro quibus ipsi mori non recusatis, parentem, liberos: nam conjugem in illo carcere amisi. Credite, nunc omnes hos tendere ad vos manus, implorare patrios deos, opem vestram, misericordiam, fidem exposcere, ut compedibus, ut servitute, ut precario victu[6] ipsos liberetis. An creditis aequo animo his servire, quorum reges esse fastidiunt?[7] Video admoveri hostium aciem: sed quo propius discrimen accedo, hoc minus his, quae dixi, possum esse contentus. Per ego vos deos patrios[8] aeternumque ignem, qui praefertur altaribus, fulgoremque solis intra fines regni mei orientis, per aeternam memoriam Cyri, qui ademptum Medis Lydisque imperium primus in Persidem intulit: vindicate ab ultimo dedecore nomen gentemque Persarum. Ite alacres et spe[9] pleni, ut, quam gloriam accepistis a majoribus vestris, posteris relinquatis. In dextris vestris jam libertatem, opem, spem futuri temporis geritis. Effugit mortem, quisquis contempserit: timidissimum quemque[10] consequitur. Ipse non patrio more solum, sed etiam ut conspici possim,

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[1] 'Even if there were no well-grounded hope.'

[2] 'Like kings.' (Literally, 'an image of kings.') See Zumpt, § 89.

[3] 'Unless there is something in you;' that is, unless you have some energy and power. *Nisi quid momenti, virium.*

[4] A genitive partitive. 'So far as regards the greater part of me;' that is, his mother and children, whom he considers as a part of himself.

[5] 'My vitals.' We might say, under similar excitement, 'my heart.'

[6] The means of living, which they enjoy only from the clemency and at the will of the conqueror.

[7] 'Whose sovereigns they scorn to be.' If we read *fastidiant*, as proposed by Freinsheim, the translation is, 'whose sovereigns they would scorn to be;' namely, supposing they had it in their power. The latter seems to be the more natural way of making the statement.

[8] *Oro* is omitted, and the *per*, as is usual in adjuration, is separated from the substantive which it governs: *per deos patrios ego vos oro*, &c. See Zumpt, §§ 773 and 794.

[9] The usual construction of *plenus* in Curtius, and indeed in most authors, is with the genitive. See *Gram.* § 277, 5. Perhaps, however, *spe* is a form of the genitive. See *Gram.* § 73, note 2.

[10] For the use of *quisque* with a superlative, see Zumpt, § 710.

currru vehor, nec recuso, quo minus imitemini me, sive fortitudinis exemplum, sive ignaviae fuero.

56. Interim Alexander, ut et demonstratum a transfuga insidiarum locum circumiret, et Dareo, qui cornu tuebatur, occurreret, agmen obliquum incedere jubet. Dareus quoque eodem suum obvertit, Besso admonito, ut Massagetas equites in laevum[1] Alexandri cornu a latere invehi juberet. Ipse ante se falcatos currus habebat, quos signo dato universos in hostem effudit. Ruebant laxatis habenis aurigae, quo plures nondum satis proviso impetu obtererent. Alios ergo hastae multum ultra temonem eminentes, alios ab utroque latere dimissae falces laceravere. Nec sensim Macedones[2] cedebant; sed effusa fuga turbevarant ordines. Mazaeus quoque perculsis metum incussit, mille equitibus ad diripienda hostis impedimenta circumvehi jussis, ratus, captivos quoque, qui simul asservabantur, rupturos vincula, cum suos appropinquantes[3] vidissent. Non fefellerat Parmenionem,[4] qui in laevo erat: propere igitur Polydamanta mittit [ad regem], qui et periculum ostenderet, et quid fieri juberet consuleret. Ille, audito Polydamante, Abi, nuntia, inquit, Parmenioni, si acie vicerimus, non nostra solum nos recuperaturos, sed etiam quae hostium sunt occupaturos. Proinde non est quod virium quicquam subducat ex acie, sed, ut me, ut Philippo patre dignum est, contempto sarcinarum damno fortiter dimicet. Interim barbari impedimenta turbaverant, caesisque plerisque custodum, captivi, vinculis ruptis, quicquid ovium erat, quo armari possent, arripiunt et aggregati suorum equitibus Macedonas, ancipiti circumventos malo, invadunt: laetique qui circa Sisygambim erant, vicisse Dareum, ingenti caede prostratos hostes, ad ultimum etiam impedimentis exutos esse, nuntiant, quippe eandem fortunam ubique esse credebant, et victores Persas ad praedam discurrisse. Sisygambis, hortantibus captivis, ut animum a maerore allevaret, in eodem, quo[5] antea fuit, perseveravit. Non vox ulla excidit ei, non oris color vultusve

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[1] Incorrect. It must be *in dextrum*, for (chap. 45) Bessus and the Massagetae were on the left wing of the Persians, and consequently opposed to Alexander's right.

[2] That is the *antesignani* of the Macedonians, for the successful resistance of the phalangites is mentioned a little after.

[3] For the difference between *video te appropinquantem* and *video te appropinquare*, see Zumpt, § 636.

[4] 'It had not escaped the notice of Parmenio.' *Fallere* has two significations, 'to deceive,' and 'to escape notice;' and in both it governs the accusative.

[5] Or *in quo*. See Zumpt, § 778.

mutatus est: sedit immobilis (credo, praecoqui[1] gaudio verita irritare fortunam), adeo ut, quid mallet, intuentibus eam fuerit incertum. Inter haec Menidas, praefectus equitum Alexandri, cum paucis turmis opem impedimentis laturus advenerat, incertum suone consilio, an regis imperio; sed non sustinuit Caucasiorum Scytharumque impetum, quippe vix temptato certamine refugit ad regem, amissorum impedimentorum testis magis, quam vindex. Jam consilium Alexandri dolor vicerat: et ne cura recuperandi sua militem a proelio averteret, non immerito verebatur. Itaque Areten, ducem hastatorum (sarissophoros vocabant), adversus Scythas mittit.

57. Inter haec currus, qui circa signa prima turbaverant aciem, in phalangem invecti erant. Macedones confirmatis animis in medium agmen accipiunt. Vallo similis acies erat: junxerant hastas, et ab utroque latere temere incurrentium ilia suffodiebant.[2] Circumire deinde currus et propugnatores praecipitare coeperunt.[3] Ingens ruina equorum aurigarumque aciem compleverat. Hi territos regere non poterant, qui crebra jactatione cervicum non jugum modo excusserant, sed etiam currus everterant: vulnerati interfectos trahebant, nec consistere territi, nec progredi debiles poterant. Paucae tamen evasere quadrigae in ultimam aciem, iis, quibus inciderunt, miserabili morte consumptis: quippe amputata virorum membra humi jacebant, et quia calidis adhuc vulneribus aberat dolor, trunci quoque et debiles arma non omittebant,[4] donec, multo sanguine effuso, exanimati procumberent. Interim Aretes, Scytharum, qui impedimenta diripiebant, duce occiso, gravius territis instabat. Supervenere deinde a Dareo Bactriani, pugnaeque vertere fortunam. Multi ergo Macedonum primo impetu obtriti sunt, plures ad Alexandrum refugerunt. Tum Persae, clamore sublato, qualem victores solent edere, ferociter in hostem, quasi ubique profligatum, incurrerunt. Alexander territos castigare, adhortari, proelium, quod jam elanguerat, solus accendere, confirmatisque tandem animis, ire in hostem jubet.[5]

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[1] Or *praecoci*, 'premature;' literally, 'unripe.' The verb *coquere* is used when we speak of the sun or heat 'ripening' fruits.

[2] 'They stabbed in the belly the horses which ran against them.' For this purpose the *sarissae*, or spears twenty-four feet long, of the Macedonian infantry, were very well fitted.

[3] For the use of *coepi*, when it seems merely to give a picturesque effect to the action of the verb it governs, see Zumpt, § 753.

[4] 'Though mutilated and powerless, they still did not drop their arms.' All this is a very graphic description.

[5] Up to this time, the Macedonians in the line of battle had been occupied merely in defending themselves from the scythe-chariots.

58. Rarior[1] acies erat in laevo cornu Persarum, namque inde Bactriani discesserant ad opprimenda impedimenta. Itaque Alexander laxatos ordines invadit, et multa caede hostium invehitur. At qui in dextro cornu erant Persae, spe posse eum includi, agmen suum a tergo dimicantis opponunt: ingensque periculum in medio haerens adisset, ni equites Agriani[2] calcaribus subditis circumfusos regi barbaros adorti essent, aversosque caedendo in se obverti coëgissent. Turbata erat utraque acies. Alexander et a fronte et a tergo hostem habebat: qui averso ei instabant,[3] ab Agrianis equitibus premebantur: et Bactriani, impedimentis hostium direptis, reversi, ordines suos recuperare non poterant: plura simul abrupta a ceteris agmina, ubicunque alium alii fors miscuerat, dimicabant. Duo reges junctis prope agminibus proelum accenderant. Plures Persae cadebant: par ferme utrimque numerus vulnerabatur: curru Dareus, Alexander equo vehebatur: utrumque delecti tuebantur, sui immemores, Quippe amisso rege nec volebant salvi esse, nec poterant. Ante oculos sui quisque regis mortem occumbere[4] ducebat egregium. Maximum tamen periculum adibant, quos maxime tuebantur;[5] quippe sibi quisque caesi regis expetebat decus.

59. Ceterum, sive ludibrium oculorum, sive vera species fuit,[6] qui circa Alexandrum erant, vidisse se crediderunt paululum super caput regis placide volantem aquilam, non sono armorum, non gemitu morientium territam: diuque circa equum Alexandri pendenti magis, quam volanti similis apparuit. Certe vates Aristander, alba veste indutus, et dextra praeferens lauream, militibus in pugnam intentis avem monstrabat, haud dubium victoriae auspicium. Ingens ergo alacritas et fiducia paulo ante territos accendit ad pugnam, utique postquam auriga Darei, qui ante ipsum sedens

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[1] 'Rather thin,' 'weaker than in other parts.'

[2] Who (see chap. 50) had been stationed beyond the wings, in order to prevent the enemy from surrounding the Macedonians. They were consequently now doing just what had been intended.

[3] 'Those who were coming against him in the rear;' literally, on the side from which his face was turned away.

[4] *Mortem* is much more common than *morti* or *morte* in this phrase. See Zumpt, § 387.

[5] 'Those (that is, the kings) who were most zealously defended, ran, notwithstanding, the greatest danger,' because they were most vigorously attacked by the other party; for every one was anxious for the honour of being able to say that he had slain the hostile king. Before *quos*, *ii* must be supplied. See Zumpt, § 765. Regarding the use of the participle perfect passive *caesi*, see *Gram.* § 404, note 3.

[6] 'Whether it was a delusion or deception of the eyes, or an actual appearance.' *Sive—sive*, usually take the indicative mood.

equos regebat, hasta transfixus est. Nec aut Persae aut Macedones dubitavere, quin ipse rex esset occisus. Ergo lugubri ululatu et incondito clamore gemituque[1] totam fere aciem adhuc aequo Marte[2] pugnantium turbavere cognati Darei et armigeri: laevumque cornu in fugam effusum destituerat currum, quem a dextra parte stipati in medium agmen receperunt. Dicitur acinace stricto Dareus dubitasse, an[3] fugae dedecus honesta morte vitaret. Sed eminens curru nondum omnem suorum aciem proelio excedentem destituere erubescebat. Dumque inter spem et desperationem[4] haesitat, sensim Persae cedebant, et laxaverant ordines. Alexander, mutato equo, quippe plures fatigaverat, resistentium adversa ora fodiebat,[5] fugientium terga. Jamque non pugna, sed caedes erat, cum Dareus quoque currum suum in fugam vertit. Haerebat in tergis fugientium victor: sed prospectum oculorum nubes pulveris, quae ad coelum ferebatur, abstulerat: ergo haud secus quam in tenebris errabant, ad sonum notae vocis, ut signum, subinde coëuntes.[6] Exaudiebant tamen strepitis habenarum, quibus equi currum vehentes identidem[7] verberabantur: haec sola fugientis vestigia excepta sunt.

60. At in laevo Macedonum cornu (Parmenio, sicut ante dictum, tuebatur), longe alia fortuna utriusque partis res gerebatur. Mazaeus, cum omni suorum equitatu vehementer invectus, urgebat Macedonum alas. Jamque abundans multitudine aciem circumvehi[8] coeperat, cum Parmenio equites nuntiare jubet Alexandro, in quo discrimine ipsi essent: ni mature subveniretur, non posse sisti fugam.[9] Jam multum viae praeceperat[10] rex, imminens[11] fugientium tergis, cum a Parmenione tristis nuntius venit. Refrenare equos jussi, qui

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1 'With the death-wail, and a confused shouting and lamentation.' *Lugubris* is applied to everything relating to death and the dead.

2 'With equal,' or 'undecided success.'

3 For *an* after *dubitare*, &c., see Zumpt, § 354.

4 *Spes et desperatio* form a perfect antithesis. 'Hope, and the entire surrender of all hope.'

5 Literally, 'dug into.' We speak of a rider 'digging' his spurs into his horse's flanks.

6 'Collecting into bodies at times.' *Subinde* has two significations: 'at times,' and 'immediately thereupon.'

7 'Repeatedly,' 'ever and anon in the same way.'

8 To surround the line of the Macedonians with cavalry. *Circumvehi* is construed in the same manner as *circumvenire*.

9 'Unless assistance were sent speedily, the flight could not be stopped.'

10 'The king had pressed on a great way before the others.'

11 'Close in the rear of the fugitives.' *Terga* is in the plural, because *fugientium* is plural.

vehebantur,[1] agmenque constitit, frendente Alexandro, eripi sibi victoriam e manibus, et Dareum felicius fugere quam se sequi. Interim ad Mazaeum superati regis fama pervenerat. Itaque, quamquam validior erat, tamen fortuna partium territus, perculsis languidius instabat. Parmenio ignorabat quidem causam sua sponte pugnae remissae, sed occasione vincendi strenue est usus. Thessalos equites ad se vocari jubet. Ecquid videtis, inquit, istos, qui ferociter modo instabant, pedem referre subito pavore perterritos? Nimirum nobis[2] quoque regis nostri fortuna vicit. Omnia Persarum caede strata sunt. Quid cessatis? an ne fugientibus quidem pares estis? Vera dicere videbatur, et spes languentes quoque erexerat. Subditis calcaribus proruere in hostem: et illi jam non sensim, sed citato gradu recedebant, nec quicquam fugae, nisi quod nondum terga verterant, deerat. Parmenio tamen, ignarus quaenam in dextro cornu fortuna regis esset, repressit suos: Mazaeus, dato pugnae spatio[3] non recto itinere, sed majore et ob id tutiore circumitu Tigrin superat, et Babylona cum reliquiis devicti exercitus intrat.

61. Dareus paucis fugae comitibus ad Lycum amnem contenderat: quo trajecto dubitavit an solveret pontem, quippe hostem[4] jam affore nuntiabatur. Sed tot milia suorum, quae nondum ad amnem pervenerant, ponte reciso[5] videbat hostis praedam fore. Abeuntem, cum intactum sineret pontem, dixisse constat, malle se sequentibus iter dare, quam auferre fugientibus. Ipse ingens spatium fuga emensus, media fere nocte Arbela pervenit. Quis tot ludibria fortunae, ducum, agminum caedem multiplicem, devictorum fugam, clades nunc singulorum, nunc universorum, aut animo assequi queat, aut oratione complecti?[6] Propemodum saeculi[7] res in unum illum diem pro![8] fortuna cumulavit. Alii qua brevis-

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[1] The horsemen were ordered to take off the bits, that they might give the horses a breath, and then ride off briskly in the opposite direction.

[2] *Dativus commodi.* See *Gram.* § 261.

[3] 'When a cessation or intermission of the fighting was given;' that is, during a cessation of the fighting. *Spatium dare alicui rei* commonly means, 'to give time for anything,' as here, 'for fighting.' In this passage, however, such is not the meaning.

[4] It might also have been *hostis*. See Zumpt, § 607.

[5] Equivalent to *si pons recisus esset.*

[6] 'Who can apprehend, or adequately describe.' This is the plain meaning; but it is rhetorically expanded into 'apprehend with the mind, and embrace with words.'

[7] *Saeculum* may mean a century or an age, the lifetime of a generation. This was calculated at three to one hundred years; that is, thirty-three years four months.

[8] *Pro!* alone, without the addition of the object invoked, is rare. See Zumpt, §§ 359 and 361.

simum patebat iter, alii divisos[1] saltus et ignotas sequentibus calles petebant. Eques pedesque confusi sine duce, armatis inermes, integris debiles implicabantur. Deinde, misericordia in metum versa, qui sequi non poterant, inter mutuos gemitus deserebantur. Sitis praecipue fatigatos et saucios perurebat, passimque omnibus rivis prostraverant corpora, praeterfluentem aquam hianti ore captantes. Quam cum avide turbidam hausissent, tendebantur extemplo praecordia premente limo, resolutisque et torpentibus membris, cum supervenisset hostis, novis vulneribus excitabantur. Quidam, occupatis proximis rivis, deverterant longius, ut quicquid occulti humoris usquam manaret, exciperent, nec ulla adeo avia et sicca lacuna[2] erat, ut vestigantium sitim fallaret. E proximis vero itineri vicis ululatus senum feminarumque exaudiebantur, barbaro ritu Dareum adhuc regem clamantium.[3]

62. Alexander, ut supra dictum est,[4] inhibito suorum impetu ad Lycum amnem pervenerat, ubi ingens multitudo fugientium oneraverat pontem, et plerique, cum hostis urgeret, in flumen se praecipitaverant, gravesque armis et proelio ac fuga defatigati gurgitibus hauriebantur. Jamque non pons modo fugientes, sed ne amnis quidem capiebat agmina sua improvide subinde cumulantes: quippe ubi intravit animos pavor, id solum metuunt, quod primum formidare coeperunt. Alexander, instantibus suis, impune abeuntem hostem permitteret sequi, hebetia, esse tela, et manus fatigatas, tantoque cursu corpora exhausta, et praeceps in noctem diei tempus causatus est. Revera de laevo cornu, quod adhuc in acie stare credebat, sollicitus, reverti ad ferendam opem suis statuit.[5] Jamque signa converterat, cum equites, a Parmenione missi, illius quoque partis victoriam nuntiant. Sed nullum eo die majus periculum adiit, quam dum copias reducit[6] in castra. Pauci eum et incompositi sequebantur ovantes victoria, quippe omnes hostes aut in fugam effusos, aut in acie cecidisse credebant: cum repente ex adverso apparuit agmen equitum, qui primo inhibuere cursum, deinde

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[1] 'Situated out of the common route.'

[2] A hole in which water collects. *Lacuna* is derived from *lacus*.

[3] Probably in their evening prayers, asking the assistance of the gods for their king.

[4] Above (c. 60) it was only said that Alexander stopped. Here we learn that it was at the bridge over the river Lycus (λύκος, a wolf).

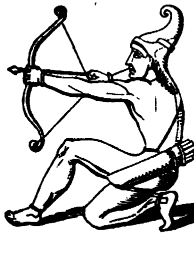
[5] This statement stands in some measure in contradiction to what was said above; namely, that Alexander's determination to return was called forth only by Parmenio's message. Here he forms the resolution spontaneously; and this seems to be the more correct account, for Parmenio's messengers could scarcely have overtaken him, when at such a distance ahead, had he not stopped of his own accord.

[6] *Dum* is usually construed with the present. See *Gram.* § 332, note.

Macedonum paucitate conspecta, turmas in obvios concitaverunt. Ante signa rex ibat, dissimulato magis periculo, quam spreto. Nec defuit ei perpetua in dubiis rebus felicitas: namque praefectum equitatus avidum certaminis, et ob id ipsum incautius in se ruentem, hasta transfixit, quo ex equo lapso, proximum, ac dein plures eodem telo confodit. Invasere turbatos amici quoque: nec Persae inulti cadebant, quippe non universae acies, quam hae tumultuariae manus, vehementius iniere certamen. Tandem barbari, cum obscura luce tutior fuga videretur esse quam pugna, dispersis agminibus abiere. Rex, extraordinario periculo defunctus, incolumes suos reduxit in castra.

63. Cecidere Persarum, quorum numerum victores finire potuerunt, milia XL, Macedonum minus quam CCC desiderati sunt. Ceterum hanc victoriam rex majore ex parte virtuti, quam fortunae suae debuit: animo, non, ut antea, loco vicit. Nam et aciem peritissime instruxit, et promptissime ipse pugnavit, et magno consilio jacturam sarcinarum impedimentorumque contempsit, cum in ipsa acie summae rei videret esse discrimen dubioque adhuc pugnae eventu pro victore se gessit, perculsos deinde hostium fudit, fugientes, quod in illo ardore animi vix credi potest, prudentius quam avidius persecutus est. Nam si parte exercitus adhuc in acie stante, instare cedentibus perseverasset, aut culpa sua victus esset, aut aliena virtute vicisset. Jam si multitudinem equitum occurrentium extimuisset, victori aut foede fugiendum, aut miserabiliter cadendum fuit.[1] Ne duces quidem copiarum sua laude fraudandi sunt; quippe vulnera, quae quisque excepit, indicia virtutis sunt. Hephaestionis brachium hasta ictum est: Perdicca, et Coenos,[2] et Menidas, sagittis prope occisi. Et, si vere aestimare Macedonas, qui tunc erant, volumus, fatebimur, et regem talibus ministris, et illos tanto rege fuisse dignissimos.

[1] See *Gram.* § 346. We say, 'He would have been obliged to fall.'
[2] The ordinary forms are, *Perdiccas* and *Coenus*. *Perdicca* is the Latinised form (see Zumpt, § 46), and *Coenos* the original Greek.



LIBER V.

(1) The author expresses his intention of continuing his narrative of the war in Asia up to the death of Darius, without interrupting it by a relation of the events which were happening in other quarters. Darius forms the determination of giving up Susa and Babylon, and flees from Arbela to Media. (2) Alexander obtains a great quantity of booty in Arbela, but leaves that town, and marches through the fruitful country of Mesopotamia towards Babylon. (3) Mazaeus offers him his submission. Alexander enters Babylon. (4 and 5) Description of that large, ancient, and beautiful city. (6) The army remains for some time in Babylon, and the soldiers become enervated by debauchery. Alexander settles the government of the city, and, leaving a garrison in Babylon, (7) marches through Sittacene: he establishes new arrangements in the army, particularly for the maintenance of a martial spirit and vigour of body. (8) Susa is delivered up to him, where he obtains immense treasures. (9) He settles the government of the province, and leaves the mother and children of Darius in Susa, treating them with all forbearance and respect. (10) He crosses the Pasitigris, enters the country of the Uxii, and besieges their town without success, (11) till Tauron, one of his officers, seizes a height overhanging the citadel; upon which the inhabitants offer their submission: at the intercession of Sisygambis, it is accepted. (12) Part of the army, under Parmenio, march straight onwards through the plains: Alexander himself advances on the hills, and on the fifth day reaches the Susan gate, which is defended by Ariobarzanes. The Macedonians are forced to retire from the pass, with loss. (13) Alexander obtains information from his captives regarding the mountain-range which bounds Persia on the west. (14) Under the guidance of a Lycian, Alexander undertakes a circuitous march through the mountains, towards the Persian position, Craterus being left in the camp, and ordered to attempt the passage through the *pylae* at the proper moment. (15) The difficult march over the mountains. (16) The Persians, attacked on both sides, are routed: Ariobarzanes breaks through the enemy, but is shut out from Persepolis, and slain. (17) Alexander is invited to Persepolis, and makes a rapid night-march to the river Araxes: 4000 Greeks, maimed and mutilated, meet him, seeking protection, and receive consoling assurances from him. (18) Euctemon advises his companions in misfortune not to return to Greece. (19) Theaetetus, an Athenian, on the other hand, recommends

them to return to their fatherland. The majority of the Greeks, contrary to Alexander's expectation, ask him for possessions in Asia, which he bestows in a most generous manner. (20) Persepolis, being deserted, is, by the orders of Alexander, plundered, and the immense treasures of Darius are taken away. (21) While the majority of the army remain behind, Alexander with great difficulty penetrates into the interior (beginning of year 331, B. C.): he subdues the warlike Mardi. (22) After his return to Persepolis, he, in a fit of drunkenness, sets that noble city on fire. (23) The reflections of Curtius on the destruction of the city. Alexander obtains more troops from Asia Minor, and resolves to march after Darius into Media. (24, 25) Darius, whose original intention had been to retire with his army from Ecbatana to Bactra, changes his mind during the march, assembles his councillors, and, with thanks for their past fidelity, communicates to them his determination to hazard another battle. (26) Artabazus and other faithful councillors assent; but Nabarzanes, who has conspired with Bessus against Darius, takes advantage of the opportunity to propose that the kingly power should be given to Bessus till the conclusion of the war, and then restored to Darius. (The incapacity of Darius seems to have been evident to all.) (27) Darius is indignant and enraged, but he is made to know that he is in the power of his enemies. The troops divide. Artabazus exerts himself prudently in support of Darius. (28) Bessus and Nabarzanes still retain their determination to get Darius into their power; but they resolve to proceed with caution, to ask pardon of the king for their conduct, and thus have a better opportunity of tampering with the Persian troops, who still remain faithful to their king. (29) The king's good nature assists them in the execution of this plan. (30) Patron, the commander of the Greek mercenaries, comes up to the king during the march, and beseeches him to intrust the care of his person to the Greeks. (31) He communicates to the king the base designs of Bessus. Darius refuses to separate himself from his own countrymen and native subjects. (32) He is not deceived by the pretences of Bessus, but is aware of the danger of his position. (33) Artabazus advises Darius to betake himself into the camp of the Greeks: the king cannot bring his mind to this: his body-guard desert him, and he sinks into despondency. (34) Bessus and Nabarzanes come and cause him to be bound. Artabazus and the Greeks separate themselves from the rest of the army: the Bactrians, with whom the Persians had united, direct their march towards their own country, carrying Darius with them in a close carriage. (35) Alexander, through means of deserters, learns the hasty flight of Darius, and follows him. Soon afterwards, he hears of that monarch's captivity, and this determines him upon an uninterrupted pursuit with cavalry. (36) Deserters are constantly bringing him intelligence of the enemy's motions: he comes up with them,

and routs them. (37) The rebels desire Darius to mount a horse, and flee: he refuses: they leave him wounded. Nabarzanes flees to Hyrcania, Bessus to Bactra. A very great number of the Persians and Bactrians are taken prisoners. but none of them knows what has become of Darius, (38) till a Macedonian, wandering about, discovers by chance the chariot, and in it the monarch dying. (Here the fifth book breaks off. Darius, the last of the dynasty of the Achaemenides, died in July, 330 B. C.)

QUAE interim ductu[1] imperioque Alexandri vel in Graecis,[2] vel Illyriis ac Thracia gesta sunt, si suis quaeque temporibus reddere voluero, interrumpendae sunt res Asiae quas utique ad fugam mortemque Darei universas in conspectum dari, et sicut inter se cohaerent, ita opere ipso conjungi, haud paulo aptius videri potest. Igitur quae proelio[3] apud Arbela conjuncta sunt, ordiar dicere. Dareus media fere nocte Arbela pervenerat, eodemque magnae partis amicorum ejus ac militum fugam fortuna compulerat. Quibus convocatis exponit, haud dubitare se, quin Alexander celeberrimas urbes, agrosque omni copia rerum abundantes petiturus esset: praedam opimam paratamque ipsum et milites ejus spectare. Id suis rebus tali in statu saluti fore, quippe se deserta cum expedita manu petiturum. Ultima regni sui adhuc intacta esse, inde bello[4] vires haud aegre reparaturum. Occuparet sane gazam avidissima gens, et ex longa fame satiaret se auro, mox futura praedae sibi: usu didicisse, pretiosam supellectilem pellicesque et spadonum agmina nihil aliud fuisse, quam[5] onera et impedimenta; eadem trahentem Alexandrum, quibus rebus antea vicisset, inferiorem fore. Plena omnibus desperationis videbatur oratio, quippe Babylona, urbem opulentissimam, dedi cernentibus: jam Susa, jam cetera ornamenta regni, causamque belli, victorem occupaturum. At ille docere pergit, non speciosa dictu, sed usu necessaria[6] in rebus adversis sequenda esse: ferro geri bella, non auro, viris, non urbium tectis; omnia sequi[7] armatos: sic majores suos perculsos in

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[1] *Ductus* is usually 'the personal direction or superintendence;' here there seems to be no material difference of meaning between it and *imperium*.

[2] The name of the nation for that of the country. See Zumpt, § 680. In the case of this particular name, *Graecia*, the practice is not usual.

[3] It might also have been *cum proelio*.

[4] The dative 'for the war.'

[5] *Nisi* might have been used for *quam*. See Zumpt, § 735.

[6] A pretty antithesis: 'Not things fair to speak of, but things necessary to be done.'

[7] 'Fall to the lot of,' or 'come into the power of.'

principio rerum, celeriter pristinam reparasse fortunam. Igitur, sive confirmatis eorum animis, sive imperium magis quam consilium sequentibus, Mediae fines ingressus est.[1]

2. Paulo post Alexandro Arbela traduntur, regia supellectile ditique gaza repleta: quattuor milia talentum fuere, praeterea pretiosae vestes, totius, ut supra dictum est, exercitus, opibus in illam sedem congestis. Ingruentibus deinde morbis, quos odor cadaverum totis jacentium campis[2] vulgaverat, maturius castra movit. Euntibus a parte laeva Arabia,[3] odorum fertilitate nobilis regio, campestre iter, est. Inter Tigrin et Euphraten jacentia[4] tam uberi et pingui solo sunt, ut a pastu repelli pecora dicantur, ne satietas perimat. Causa fertilitatis est humor, qui ex utroque amne manat, toto fere solo propter venas aquarum resudante. Ipsi amnes ex Armeniae montibus profluunt, ac magno deinde aquarum divortio[5] iter, quod coeperunt, percurrunt: duo milia et quingenta stadia emensi sunt, qui amplissimum intervallum circa Armeniae montes notaverunt. Iidem cum Mediae et Gordyaeorum terram secare coeperunt,[6] paulatim in artius coëunt, et quo longius manant, hoc angustius inter se spatium terrae relinquunt. Vicini maxime sunt in campis, quos incolae Mesopotamiam appellant; mediam namque ab utroque latere cludunt. Iidem per Babyloniorum fines in Rubrum mare irrumpunt.[7] Alexander quartis castris ad

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[1] By this retreat, Babylon and Susa were almost, as it were, placed in Alexander's hands. Darius's resolution deserves blame. He ought to have done more to protect Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis; but we have to consider the difficulty of defending Babylon, from its immense size, and from the fickle, untrustworthy character of its inhabitants.

[2] For this construction without the preposition *in*, see *Gram.* § 307, 2.

[3] Arabia is here that part of the country between the Euphrates and Tigris which was occupied by Arabians. If this district was on the left of the Macedonians, Alexander must have recrossed the Tigris near Arbela, and marched through the middle of Mesopotamia.

[4] That is, the southern part of Mesopotamia, in which the army arrived, after passing through the *regio odorum fertilitate nobilis*.

[5] 'Separation of the waters;' that is, the rivers flow at a wide distance from each other.

[6] This can only be said of one of the rivers, the Tigris, which flows along Media and Gordyene: *secare* must here mean 'to skirt,' or 'flow along;' it cannot be 'to cut,' or 'flow through.'

[7] Curtius does not say that the Euphrates falls into the Tigris, and that both rivers flow by the same channel into the Persian Gulf (a part of the *Rubrum mare* of the ancients). This is now the case; for the waters of the Euphrates, as it approaches the sea, are gradually carried over by canals into the channel of the Tigris, till the bed of the former river becomes quite dry. In Alexander's time the

Mennim urbem pervenit. Caverna ibi est, ex qua fons ingentem bituminis vim effundit, adeo, ut satis constet, Babylonios muros ingentis operis hujus fontis bitumine interlitos esse.

3. Ceterum Babylona procedenti Alexandro Mazaeus, qui ex acie in eam urbem confugerat, cum adultis liberis supplex occurrit, urbem seque dedens. Gratus adventus ejus regi fuit, quippe magni operis obsidio futura erat tam munitae urbis. Ad hoc vir illustris, et manu promptus, famaque etiam proximo proelio celebris,[1] et ceteros ad deditionem sui incitaturus exemplo videbatur. Igitur hunc quidem benigne cum liberis excipit: ceterum quadrato agmine, quod ipse ducebat, velut in aciem[2] irent, ingredi suos jubet. Magna pars Babyloniorum constiterat[3] in muris, avida cognoscendi novum regem, plures obviam egressi sunt. Inter quos Bagophanes, arcis et regiae pecuniae custos, ne studio a Mazaeo vinceretur, totum iter floribus coronisque[4] constraverat, argenteis altaribus utroque latere dispositis, quae non ture modo, sed omnibus odoribus cumulaverat. Dona eum sequebantur, greges pecorum equorumque, leones quoque et pardales caveis praeferebantur. Magi deinde, suo more carmen canentes, post hos Chaldaei,[5] Babyloniorumque non vates modo, sed etiam artifices cum fidibus sui generis ibant. Laudes hi regum canere soliti, Chaldaei siderum motus et statutas vices temporum ostendere. Equites deinde Babylonii, suo equorumque cultu ad luxuriam magis quam ad magnificentiam exacto,[6] ultimi ibant. Rex, armatis stipatus, oppidanorum turbam post ultimos pedites ire jussit: ipse cum curru[7] urbem, ac deinde regiam intravit. Postero die supellectilem Darei et omnem pecuniam recognovit.

4. Ceterum ipsius urbis pulchritudo ac vetustas, non regis modo, sed etiam omnium oculos in semet haud immerito convertit.[8] Semiramis eam condiderat, non, ut plerique

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rivers still kept their separate courses, though the process of connection had begun.

[1] For *celeber*. See *Gram.* § 86.

[2] 'Into battle;' equivalent to *ad pugnam, in proelium;* literally, 'into battle array.'

[3] 'Had stationed themselves;' that is, 'were standing.'

[4] See iv. 17, *ad fin.*

[5] The priests of the Persian religion were called Magi; of the Babylonian, Chaldeans. These latter were celebrated for their knowledge of astronomy. The *carmen* which the Magi sang was perhaps one of those lays which their representatives, the Parsees of India, still chant.

[6] Our author evidently praises *magnificentia*, but blames *luxuria.*

[7] See Zumpt, § 473.

[8] We can well believe their astonishment. Our author's description

credidere, Belus, cujus regia ostenditur. Murus instructus laterculo coctili, bitumine interlitus, spatium XXX et duorum pedum in latitudinem amplectitur: quadrigae inter se occurrentes sine periculo commeare dicuntur. Altitudo muri L cubitorum eminet spatio: turres denis pedibus quam murus altiores sunt. Totius operis ambitus CCCLXV stadia complectitur: singulorum stadiorum structuram singulis diebus perfectam esse memoriae proditum est. Aedificia non sunt admota muris, sed fere spatium jugeri unius absunt. Ac ne totam quidem urbem tectis occupaverunt: per LXXX stadia habitatur, nec omnia continua sunt, credo, quia tutius visum est pluribus locis spargi. Cetera serunt coluntque, ut, si externa vis ingruat, obsessis alimenta ex ipsius urbis solo subministrentur. Euphrates interfluit, magnaeque molis crepidinibus[1] coercetur. Sed omnium operum magnitudinem circumveniunt cavernae ingentes, in altitudinem pressae ad accipiendum impetum fluminis,[2] quod ubi appositae crepidinis fastigium excessit, urbis tecta corriperet, nisi essent specus lacusque, qui exciperent. Coctili laterculo structi sunt: totum opus bitumine adstringitur. Pons lapideus, flumini impositus, jungit urbem. Hic quoque inter mirabilia Orientis opera numeratus est: quippe Euphrates altum limum vehit, quo penitus ad fundamenta jacienda egesto, vix sufficiendo operi firmo reperiunt solum;[3] harenae autem subinde cumulatae, et saxis, quis pons sustinetur, annexae, morantur amnem, qui retentus acrius, quam si libero cursu mearet, illiditur.

5. Arcem quoque ambitu XX stadia complexam habent. XXX pedes in terram turrium fundamenta demissa sunt, ad LXXX summum munimenti fastigium pervenit. Super arcem, vulgatum Graecorum fabulis[4] miraculum, pensiles horti sunt, summam murorum altitudinem aequantes, multarumque arborum umbra et proceritate amoeni.[5] Saxo pilae, quae totum onus sustinent, instructae sunt, super pilas

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of Babylon is the most moderate of all. The Asiatic world has twice shone forth in great glory: its gradual lapse into its present deplorable condition is one of the most melancholy spectacles in history.

[1] 'By banks of great size and strength.'

[2] Pits or small lakes dug deep, and cradled, in order to receive the water of the river when it overflowed its banks.

[3] 'They scarcely find ground fit for building a strong work upon.' The pillars of the bridge (the *opus*) were necessarily to be strong, because the river, forced into narrow compass by the gradual accumulation of sand, beat with extraordinary violence against them.

[4] 'Stories.' The word does not imply falsehood here.

[5] 'Pleasant.' *Amoenus* is applied to what is agreeable in nature, as, for instance, a beautiful landscape.

lapide quadrato solum stratum est, patiens terrae, quam altam injiciunt, et humoris, quo rigant terras: adeoque validas arbores sustinent moles, ut stipites earum VIII cubitorum spatium crassitudine aequent, in L pedum altitudinem emineant, frugiferae aeque sint, ut si terra sua alerentur. Et cum vetustas non opera solum manu facta, sed etiam ipsam naturam paulatim exedendo perimat: haec moles, quae tot arborum radicibus premitur, tantique nemoris pondere onerata est, inviolata durat; quippe XX lati parietes sustinent, undecim pedum intervallo distantes, ut procul visentibus silvae montibus suis imminere videantur. Syriae regem, Babylone regnantem, hoc opus esse molitum memoriae proditum est, amore conjugis victum,[1] quae desiderio nemorum silvarumque in campestribus locis virum compulit amoenitatem naturae genere hujus operis imitari.[2]

6. Diutius in hac urbe quam usquam constitit rex: nec alio loco disciplinae militari magis nocuit. Nihil urbis ejus corruptius moribus, nihil ad irritandas illiciendasque immodicas cupiditates instructius. Liberos conjugesque cum hospitibus[3] stupro coire modo pretium flagitii detur, parentes maritique patiuntur. Convivales ludi tota Perside regibus purpuratisque cordi sunt, Babylonii maxime in vinum, et quae ebrietatem sequuntur, effusi sunt. Feminarum convivia ineuntium in principio modestus est habitus, dein summa quaeque amicula exuunt, paulatimque pudorem profanant, ad ultimum (honos auribus habitus sit[4]) ima corporum velamenta projiciunt. Nec meretricum hoc dedecus est, sed matronarum[5] virginumque, apud quas comitas[6] habetur vulgati corporis vilitas. Inter haec flagitia exercitus ille domitor Asiae per XXXIV dies saginatus, ad ea quae sequebantur discrimina haud dubie debilior futurus fuit,[7] si hostem habuisset. Ceterum, quo minus damnum sentiret, identidem incremento[8] renovabatur. Namque Amyntas Andromeni[9] ab antipatro Macedonum peditum sex milia adduxit: D praeterea ejusdem generis equites: cum his DC Thracas, adjunctis peditibus[10] suae gentis III milibus

[1] See Zumpt, § 454. We say merely, 'from love to his queen.'
[2] See *Gram.* § 375, note 3.
[3] 'Strangers:' equivalent to *peregrini.*
[4] 'With respect to the ears of the hearer (or eyes of the reader) be it said.'
[5] 'Married women.'
[6] 'Courteous conduct.'
[7] For *fuisset.*
[8] 'Supplement,' 'addition.'
[9] Supply *filius:* and as to the genitive, see *Gram.* § 63.
[10] *Peditibus* is construed with the *quingentis*, not the *milibus.* See *Gram.* § 104, note.

quingentis. Et ex Peloponneso mercenarius miles ad IV milia advenerat, cum CCCLXXX equitibus. Idem Amyntas adduxerat L principum Macedoniae liberos adultos ad custodiam corporis: quippe inter epulas hi sunt regis ministri, iidemque equos ineuntibus proelium admovent, venantesque comitantur, et vigiliarum vices ante cubiculi fores servant: magnorumque praefectorum et ducum haec incrementa sunt et rudimenta.[1] Igitur rex, arci Babyloniae Agathone praesidere jusso cum DCC Macedonum[2] trecentisque mercede conductis, praetores, qui regioni Babyloniae ac Ciliciae praeessent, Menetem et Apollodorum relinquit. Duo milia iis militum cum mille talentis data: utrique praeceptum, ut in supplementum milites legerent. Mazaeum transfugam satrapea Babyloniae donat, Bagophanem, qui arcem tradiderat, se sequi jussit; Armenia Mithreni Sardium proditori data est. Ex pecunia deinda Babyloniae tradita Macedonum equitibus sexceni[3] denarii tributi; peregrinus eques quingenos accepit, ducenos pedes, ceteri stipendium duum[4] mensum.

7. His ita compositis, in regionem, quae Satrapene[5] vocatur, pervenit. Fertilis terra, copia rerum et omni comneatu abundans. Itaque diutius ibi substitit, ac ne desides otio demitterent animos,[6] judices dedit, praemiaque proposuit de virtute militari certantibus. Novem, qui fortissimi judicati essent, singulis militum milibus praefuturi erant, Chiliarchas vocabant, tunc primum in hunc numerum copiis distributis: namque antea quingenariae[7] cohortes fuerant, nec fortitudinis praemia gesserant.[8] Ingens militum turba convenerat,

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[1] 'The seminary and training school.' These youths performed, therefore, nearly the same offices as, in more modern days, the page (a Graeco-Latin word, being derived from *paedagogia*). Further on in Curtius we shall hear more of these *pueri regii*.

[2] A genitive partitive. It might with equal propriety have been *Macedonibus*.

[3] Each receives 600 *denarii;* therefore the distributive numeral is used.

[4] For *duorum*. As to the form *mensum* in the genitive plural of *mensis*, see *Gram.* § 67, 1, note.

[5] This name is not correct. According to all other writers, the fertile and well-cultivated district which lay between Babylon and Susa, beyond the Tigris, was called *Sittacene*.

[6] The phrase *animos demittere* is ordinarily used of loss of courage; here it expresses that loss of energy which is caused by relaxation and luxurious enjoyment.

[7] 'Of 500 men each.'

[8] 'And they (that is, the commanders of the cohorts) had not occupied these stations as rewards of valour:' a somewhat irregular mode of expression.

egregio interfutura certamini, testis eadem cujusque factorum et[1] de judicibus latura sententiam: quippe verona an falso honos[2] cuique haberetur, ignorari non poterat. Primus omnium virtutis causa donatus est Atharrias senior,[3] qui omissum apud Halicarnasson a junioribus proelium unus maxime accenderat: proximus ei Antigenes visus est: tertium locum Philotas Augaeus obtinuit: quartus Amyntae datus: post hos Antigonus, et ab eo Lyncestes Amyntas fuit: septimum locum Theodotus, ultimum obtinuit Hellanicus. In disciplina quoque militaris rei a majoribus [tradita] pleraque summa utilitate mutavit. Nam cum ante equites in suam quisque gentem describerentur seorsus[4] a ceteris, exempto nationum discrimine, praefectis, non utique suarum gentium, sed delectis, attribuit. Tuba, cum castra movere vellet, signum dabat, cujus sonus plerumque tumultuantium fremitu exoriente, haud satis exaudiebatur: ergo perticam, quae undique conspici posset, supra praetorium statuit: ex qua signum eminebat pariter omnibus conspicuum: observabatur ignis noctu, fumus interdiu.

8. Jamque Susa[5] ei adituro Abulites, regionis ejus praefectus, sive Darei jussu, ut Alexandrum praeda retineret, sive sua sponte, filium obviam misit, traditurum se urbem promittens. Benigne juvenem excepit rex, et eodem duce ad Choaspin[6] amnem pervenit, delicatam, ut fama est, vehentem aquam. Hic Abulites cum donis regalis opulentiae occurrit. Dromades cameli[7] inter dona erant velocitatis eximiae, XII elephanti a Dareo ex India acciti, jam non terror, ut speraverat, Macedonum, sed auxilium, opes victi ad victorem transferente fortuna. Ut vero urbem intravit, incredibilem ex thesauris summam pecuniae egessit, L milia talentum argenti non signati forma, sed rudi pondere. Multi reges tantas opes longa aetate cumulaverant liberis posterisque, ut arbitrabantur, quas una hora in externi regis manus intulit. Consedit deinde in regia sella multo excelsiore quam pro

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[1] At once witness and judge; conformably to the peculiar use of *idem*.

[2] *Honos* is more common than *honor* in the Latin authors generally, and is the universal form in Cicero.

[3] Not 'the elder,' but 'a man up in years,' or 'an elderly man.' See *Gram.* § 89, note.

[4] For the composition of this and similar adverbs, see *Gram.* § 224.

[5] Situated in the neighbourhood of the modern Shuster.

[6] The name of this river was either Choaspes or Choaspis, now Kerka or Kera.

[7] 'Riding camels;' that is, not a particular species of the animal, but camels trained to carrying couriers, such as are still used in the East.

habitu corporis. Itaque cum pedes imum gradum non contingerent, unus ex regiis pueris mensam subdidit pedibus. Et cum spadonem, qui Darei fuerat, ingemiscentem conspexisset rex, causam maestitiae requisivit. Ille indicat, Dareum vesci in ea solitum, seque sacram ejus mensam ad ludibrium recidentem sine lacrimis conspicere non posse. Subiit ergo regem verecundia violandi hospitales deos. Jamque subduci jubebat, cum Philotas:[1] Minime vero[2] haec feceris, rex, sed omen quoque accipe, mensam, ex qua libavit hostis epulas[3], tuis pedibus esse subjectam.

9. Rex, Persidis finem[4] aditurus, Susa urbem Archelao et praesidium III milium tradidit: Xenophilo arcis cura mandata est, Macedonum aetate gravibus praesidere arcis custodiae jussis: thesaurorum Callicrati tutela permissa: satrapea regionis Susianae restituta Abulitae. Matrem quoque Darei et liberos in eadem urbe deponit. Ac forte Macedonicas vestes multamque purpuram, dono ex Macedonia sibi missam, cum his, quae confecerant, tradi Sisygambi jubet: omni namque honore eam et filii quoque pietate prosequebatur: admonerique jussit, ut si cordi quoque vestis esset, conficere eam neptes suas assuefaceret, donoque se doceret dare.[5] Ad hanc vocem lacrimae obortae prodidere animum aspernantis id munus; quippe non aliud magis in contumeliam Persarum feminae accipiunt, quam admovere lanae manus. Nuntiant qui dona tulerant, tristem esse Sisygambim, dignaque res et excusatione et solatio visa. Ipse ergo pervenit ad eam, et, Mater, inquit, hanc vestem, qua indutus sum, sororum non donum solum, sed etiam opus vides: nostri decepere me mores. Cave, obsecro, in contumeliam acceperis[6] ignorationem meam. Quae tui moris esse cognovi, ut spero, abunde servata sunt. Scio apud vos filio in conspectu matris nefas esse considere, nisi cum illa permisit: quotienscunque ad te veni, donec ut considerem annueres, restiti.[7] Procumbens venerari me saepe voluisti: inhibui. Dulcissimae matri Olympiadi nomen debitum tibi reddo.

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[1] Supply 'said.' See Zumpt, § 772.

[2] *Vero* used to indicate a reply. See Zumpt, § 266, note 1, and 716.

[3] The simple meaning is, 'to take food:' this may be done either to make an offering to the gods, or for one's own enjoyment. Here it is evidently the latter.

[4] In the signification of the boundary of a country or province, the plural occurs more frequently.

[5] 'She should say to them that he (the king) made them a present of it.'

[6] *Cave* is usually followed by the present subjunctive. The exact meaning of it with the perfect seems to be, 'I hope you have not received,' &c.

[7] 'I have remained standing.'

10. Mitigato animo ejus, rex quartis castris pervenit ad Tigrim fluvium: Pasitigrim incolae vocant: oritur in montibus Uxiorum, et per L stadia silvestribus ripis praeceps inter saxa devolvitur. Accipiunt deinde eum campi, quos clementiore alveo praeterit, jam navium patiens. DC sunt stadia mollioris soli, per quod leni tractu aquarum Persico mari se insinuat. Amne superato, cum IX milibus peditum et Agrianis sagittariisque et Graecorum mercenariorum tribus milibus, additis Thracum mille, in regionem Uxiorum[1] pervenit. Finitima Susis est, et in primam Persidem excurrit, artum inter se et Susianos aditum relinquens. Madates erat regionis praefectus, haud sane temporum[2] homo; quippe ultima pro fide experiri decreverat. Sed periti locorum Alexandrum docent, occultum iter esse per calles et aversum ab urbe: si paucos misisset leviter armatos, super capita hostium evasuros. Cum consilium placuisset, iidem itinerum fuerunt duces. M et D mercede conducti et Agriani fere M Tauroni praefecto dati, ac post solis occasum iter ingredi jussi. Ipse tertia vigilia castris motis circa lucis ortum superat angustias, caesaque materia cratibus et pluteis faciundis,[3] ut qui turres admoverent extra teli jactum essent, urbem obsidere coepit. Praerupta erant omnia, saxis et cotibus[4] impedita. Multis ergo vulneribus depulsi, ut quibus non cum hoste solum, sed etiam cum loco dimicandum esset, subibant tamen, quia rex inter primos constiterat, interrogans tot urbium victores, an erubescerent haerere in obsidione castelli exigui et ignobilis, simul admonens[5] * * * Inter haec eminus petebatur; quem testudine objecta milites, ubi ut discederet perpellere nequierant, tuebantur.

11. Tandem Tauron super arcem urbis se cum suo agmine ostendit: ad cujus conspectum et hostium animi labare, et Macedones acrius proelium inire coeperunt. Anceps oppidanos malum urgebat, nec sisti vis hostium poterat. Paucis ad moriendum, pluribus ad fugam animus fuit, magna pars in arcem concessit. Inde XXX oratoribus missis ad deprecandum, triste responsum a rege redditur, non esse veniae

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[1] A tribe who, like the Cossaeans on the Median frontier, maintained a certain independence, and used to receive money from the kings of Persia for the liberty of passing through their territory.

[2] 'A time-server.'

[3] 'After he had caused timber to be cut down for making hurdles and covered movable sheds.' As to the form *faciundus* for *faciendus*, see *Gram.* § 144.

[4] 'Rocks (that is, rocky ground) and (single) stones.'

[5] Something has fallen out here; such as *majore cum periculo regressuros esse quam progredi*, 'that a retreat would be attended with greater danger than an advance.'

locum. Itaque suppliciorum quoque metu perculsi ad Sisygambim, Darei matrem, occulto itinere ignotoque hostibus mittunt qui peterent, ut ipsa regem mitigaret, haud ignari, parentis eam loco diligi colique. Et Madates sororis ejus filiam secum matrimonio junxerat, Dareum propinqua cognatione contingens. Diu Sisygambis supplicum precibus repugnavit, abnuens, deprecationem pro illis non[1] convenire fortunae, in qua esset: adjicitque, metuere sese, ne victoris indulgentiam fatigaret, saepiusque cogitare, captivam esse se, quam reginam fuisse. Ad ultimum victa litteris Alexandrum ita deprecata est: ut ipsam excusaret, quod deprecaretur: petere se, ut illis quoque; si minus,[2] sibi ignosceret: pro necessario[3] ac propinquo suo, jam non hoste, sed supplice, tantum vitam precari. Moderationem clementiamque regis, quae tunc fuit, vel[4] una haec res possit ostendere: non Madati modo ignovit, sed omnes et deditos et captivos libertate atque immunitate donavit, urbem reliquit intactam, agros sine tributo colere permisit. A victore Dareo plura mater non impetrasset.

12. Uxiorum dein gentem subactam Susianorum satrapae contribuit: divisisque cum Parmenione copiis, illum campestri itinere procedere jubet; ipse cum expedito agmine jugum montium cepit, quorum perpetuum dorsum in Persidem excurrit. Omni hac regione vastata,[5] tertio die Persidem, quinto angustias, quas illi Susidas pylas vocant, intrat. Ariobarzanes has cum XXV milibus peditum occupaverat rupes, abscisas et undique praeruptas,[6] in quarum cacuminibus extra teli jactum barbari stabant, de industria quieti et paventibus similes, donec in artissimas fauces penetraret[7] agmen. Quod ubi contemptu sui pergere vident, tum vero ingentis magnitudinis saxa per montium prona[8] devolvunt, quae incussa saepius subjacentibus petris majore vi incidebant, nec singulos modo, sed agmina proterebant. Fundis quoque excussi lapides et sagittae undique ingerebantur.

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[1] As *abnuere* is equivalent to *negare*, this *non* is superfluous, and ought properly to have been omitted.

[2] *Minus* has frequently the signification of 'not.' See Zumpt, § 731.

[3] 'A friend;' *necessarius* expresses an intimacy brought about by relationship and long acquaintance, and is in so far distinguished from *amicus* (a friend of choice and affection), and *familiaris* (one living in the same house.)

[4] 'Even.'

[5] No doubt because the mountaineers would not submit

[6] 'Isolated, and steep on all sides.'

[7] The subjunctive is used because it expresses the object or purpose of their remaining quiet, and feigning fear.

[8] According to usual Latinity, *per montes pronos*. See *Gram.* § 316.

Nec id miserrimum fortibus viris erat, sed quod inulti quidem[1] ferarum ritu velut in fovea deprehensi caederentur. Ira igitur in rabiem versa, eminentia saxa complexi, ut ad hostem pervenirent, alius alium levantes conabantur ascendere. Ea ipsa, multorum simul manibus correpta et convulsa, in eos, qui commoverant, recidebant. Nec stare ergo poterant, nec titi,[2] ne testudine quidem protegi, cum tantae molis onera propellerent barbari. Regem non dolor modo, sed etiam pudor temere in illas angustias ejecti[3] exercitus angebat. Invictus ante eam diem fuerat, nihil frustra ausus: impune Ciliciae fauces intraverat, mare quoque novum in Pamphyliam iter aperuerat:[4] tunc haesitabat deprehensa felicitas, nec aliud remedium erat, quam reverti qua venerat. Itaque signo receptui dato, densatis ordinibus, scutisque super capita consertis, retro evadere ex angustiis jubet. XXX fuere stadia, quae remensi sunt.

13. Tum castris undique aperto loco positis, non consultare modo quid agendum esset, sed vates quoque adhibere coepit a superstitione animi.[5] Sed quid tum praedicere Aristander, cui plurimum credebat ex vatibus, poterat? Itaque damnatis intempestivis sacrificiis, peritos locorum convocari jubet. Per Mediam iter ostendebant tutum apertumque: sed rex deserere milites insepultos erubescebat, ita tradito more, ut vix ullum militiae tam sollemne[6] esset munus, quam humandi suos. Captivos ergo, quos nuper exceperat, vocari jubet: inter quos erat quidam Graecae Persicaeque linguae peritus, qui frustra eum in Persidem montium dorso exercitum ducere affirmat: silvestres esse calles, vix singulis pervios; omnia contegi frondibus, implexosque arborum ramos silvas committere.[7] Namque Persis ab altero latere[8] perpetuis montium jugis clauditur, quod in longitudinem MDC, in latitudinem CLXX stadia procurrit. Hoc dorsum

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[1] The addition of this participle merely adds emphasis to the *inulti*.

[2] 'To climb,' 'to press upwards.'

[3] 'Thrown or driven out;' thrown, as it were, in the way of destruction, and that too by his fault.

[4] Alexander had marched along the coast from Phaselis to Perga in Pamphylia, an undertaking which was practicable only with a north wind. Fortune had favoured him in this: and Curtius must have spoken of the march in his second book.

[5] 'In consequence of superstitious prejudices.' See *Gram.* § 291, n. 1.

[6] *Sollemne* may mean 'solemn' here; but we think the more probable meaning to be 'constant' or 'regular.'

[7] 'That the boughs of the trees were woven into each other, so as to form one uninterrupted forest.'

[8] That is, the west.

a Caucaso monte[1] ad rubrum mare pertinet; quaque deficit mons, aliud munimentum, fretum, objectum est. Planities deinde sub radicibus montium spatiosa procumbit, fertilis terra, multisque vicis atque urbibus frequens. Araxes[2] amnis per hos campos multorum aquas torrentium evolvit in Medum: Medus ad mare ad meridiem versus, minor amnis eo quem accepit, evehitur, gignendaeque herbae non alius est aptior, quicquid alluit floribus vestiens. Platani quoque et populi contegunt ripas, ita ut procul visentibus continuata videantur montibus nemora riparum. Quippe obumbratus amnis presso in solum alveo dilabitur, imminentque colles, ipsi quoque frondibus laeti, radices eorum humore subeunte. Regio non alia tota Asia salubrior habetur: temperat coelum hinc perpetuum jugum opacum et umbrosum, quod aestus levat, illinc mare adjunctum, quod modico tepore terras fovet.

14. His captivus expositis interrogatus a rege, auditune an oculis comperta haberet[3] quae diceret, pastorem se fuisse, et omnes eas calles percurrisse, respondit: bis captum, semel a Persis in Lycia, iterum ab ipso. Subiit animum memoria regis oraculo editae sortis:[4] quippe consulenti responsum erat, ducem in Persidem ferentis viae Lycium civem fore. Igitur promissis, quanta et praesens necessitas exigebat, et ipsius fortuna capiebat,[5] oneratum, armari jubet Macedonum more, et, quod bene verteret,[6] monstrare iter: quamvis arduum et praeceps, evasurum se esse cum paucis, nisi forte crederet, quo ipse pecoris causa isset, Alexandrum pro gloria et perpetua laude ire non posse. Etiam atque etiam[7] docere captivus, quam difficile iter esset, maxime armatis. Tum

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[1] To explain this, it must be remembered that with the mountain range, which is properly called Caucasus, are connected the mountains that separate Media from Armenia, and further south, from the districts which slope down towards the Tigris.

[2] This river, flowing close by Persepolis, is now called Bendemir. It falls into the Caspian Sea.

[3] 'Whether it was from hearsay, or by actual examination, that he had discovered these things, which he now had or possessed in his mind.' This gives the full force of *comperta haberet*, which is by no means the same as *comperisset*.

[4] 'Response;' because originally, or according to Persian usage, the answers of the oracles consisted in lots, which fell or were drawn out of an urn.

[5] Necessity urged the king to promise much; and the humble circumstances of the Lycian made even a small reward a great thing for him. The reward, then, which was promised, was regulated by both of these considerations.

[6] 'With the wish and hope that the affair might turn out well.'

[7] 'Again and again.'

rex Praedem, inquit, me accipe, neminem eorum, qui sequuntur, recusaturum ire qua duces. Cratero igitur, ad custodiam castrorum relicto cum peditibus quis assueverat,[1] et iis copiis, quas Meleager ducebat, et sagittariis equitibus M, praecipit, ut castrorum specie manente, plures de industria ignes fieri imperet, quo magis barbari credant, ipsum regem in castris esse. Ceterum, si forte Ariobarzanes cognovisset, per callium anfractus intrare,[2] et ad occupandum iter suum partem copiarum temptasset opponere, Craterus eum illato terrore retineret,[3] ad propius periculum conversurum agmen: sin autem ipse hostem fefellisset, et saltum occupasset, cum trepidantium barbarorum tumultum exaudisset [persequentium regem,] id ipsum iter, quo pridie pulsi fuerant, ne dubitaret ingredi: quippe vacuum fore, hostibus in semet aversis.

15. Ipse tertia vigilia silenti agmine, ac ne tuba quidem dato signo, pergit ad demonstratum iter callium. Tridui alimenta portare militem jusserat leviter armatum. Sed praeter invias rupes ac praerupta saxa, vestigium subinde fallentia, nix cumulata vento ingredientes[4] fatigabat: quippe velut in foveas delati hauriebantur,[5] et cum a commilitonibus allevarentur, trahebant magis adjuvantes, quam sequebantur.[6] Nox quoque, et ignota regio, ac dux incertum an satis fidus,[7] multiplicabant metum: si custodes fefellisset, quasi feras bestias ipsos posse deprehendi. Ex unius captivi vel fide vel anima[8] pendere et regis salutem et suam. Tandem venere in jugum. A dextra iter ad ipsum Ariobarzanen erat: hic Philotam et Coenon cum Amynta et Polyperconte, expeditum habentes manum, relinquit, monitos, ut quia eques pediti erat mixtus, qua pinguissimum esset solum et pabuli fertile, sensim procederent: duces erant itineris de captivis dati. Ipse cum armigeris[9] et ala, quam Agema ap-

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[1] 'Whom he was accustomed to command;' or, as we say, 'with his own regiment.'

[2] Supply *se*, the speaker.

[3] 'Then Craterus was to keep him back by a vigorous assault, upon which he would naturally turn his march towards the nearer danger.'

[4] 'The men marching.'

[5] 'They sank:' literally, 'were drunk up.'

[6] 'They more frequently drew down those who were endeavouring to assist them, than followed them (that is, rose by their help).'

[7] 'The perhaps not-over-trustworthy guide:' literally, 'it is uncertain whether he was very trustworthy.' The omission of *est* in this case is common. Compare iv. 56.

[8] 'Breath;' that is, 'life.'

[9] By *armigeri* is meant the corps of the Hypaspists or Argyraspids. (See iv. 50). The *agema* was the king's body-guard of cavalry.

pellabant, ardua semita, sed longius a stationibus hostium remota, multa cum vexatione processit. Medius erat dies, et fatigatis necessaria quies: quippe tantundem itineris supererat, quantum emensi erant, sed minus praecipitis atque ardui. Itaque refectis cibo somnoque militibus, secunda vigilia surgit. Et cetera quidem haud aegre praeterit; ceterum, qua se montium jugum paulatim ad planiora demittit, ingens vorago[1] concursu cavata torrentium iter ruperat. Ad hoc arborum rami alius alio implicati et cohaerentes ut perpetuam[2] objecerant sepem. Desperatio igitur ingens, adeo ut vix lacrimis abstinerent, incesserat. Praecipue obscuritas terrori erat: nam etiamsi qua sidera internitebant, continenti fronde tectae arbores conspicere prohibebant. Ne aurium quidem usus supererat, silvas quatiente vento, qui concurrentibus[3] ramis majorem quam pro flatu sonum edebat. Tandem expectata lux omnia, quae terribiliora nox fecerat, minuit: circumiri brevi spatio poterat eluvies,[4] et sibi quisque dux itineris coeperat fieri.

16. Evadunt[5] ergo in editum verticem: ex quo hostium statione conspecta, strenue armati, a tergo se ostendunt nihil tale metuentibus: quorum pauci, qui congredi ausi erant, caesi sunt. Itaque hinc morientium gemitus, hinc ad suos recurrentium miserabilis facies, integros quoque, antequam discrimen experirentur, in fugam avertit. Fremitu deinde in castra, quis Craterus praesidebat,[6] illato, ad ocupandas angustias, in quibus pridie haeserant, miles educitur. Simul et Philotas cum Polyperconte Amyntaque et Coeno diversum iter ingredi jussus, alium terrorem intulit barbaris. Undique ergo Macedonum armis fulgentibus, ancipiti malo oppressi, memorabile tamen proelium edunt. Ut opinor, ignaviam[7] quoque necessitas acuit, et saepe desperatio spei causa est. Nudi complectebantur armatos, et ingenti corporum mole secum ad terram detrahentes, ipsorum telis plerosque fodiebant. Ariobarzanes tamen, XL ferme equitibus et quinque milibus peditum stipatus, per mediam aciem Macedonum cum multo suorum atque hostium sanguine erupit, Persepolim urbem, caput regionis, ocupare festinans. Sed a custodibus

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1 'Gulf,' or 'abyss.'

2 'As it were,' or 'what might be called a continuous hedge.'

3 'The wind, from the boughs rustling or beating against each other, produced a louder sound than was proportioned to its violence.'

4 'Cleft.'

5 'They reach,' or 'arrive at.' This verb always implies the idea of difficulty.

6 *Praesidere* is of very frequent occurrence in later Latinity for *praeesse.*

7 'Cowardice.'

urbis exclusus, consecutis strenue hostibus, cum omnibus fugae comitibus renovato proelio cecidit. Craterus quoque, raptim agmine acto, supervenit.

17. Rex eodem loco, quo hostium copias fuderat, castra communit. Quamquam enim undique fugati hostes victoriam concesserant, tamen praealtae praecipitesque fossae, pluribus locis objectae, abruperant iter, sensimque et caute progrediundum erat, jam non hostium, sed locorum fraude suspecta. Procedenti ei litterae redduntur a Tiridate, custode pecuniae regiae, indicantes, eos, qui in urbe essent, audito ejus adventu, diripere velle thesauros dimissos:[1] properaret occupare: expeditum iter esse, quamquam Araxes amnis interfluat. Nullam virtutem regis istius magis, quam celeritatem, laudaverim:[2] relictis pedestribus copiis, tota nocte cum equitibus, itineris tanto spatio fatigatis, ad Araxen prima luce pervenit. Vici erant in propinquo: quibus dirutis, pontem, ex materia eorum, subditis saxis, strenue induxit. Jamque haud procul urbe erant, cum miserabile agmen inter pauca[3] fortunae exempla memorandum, regi occurrit. Captivi erant Graeci ad quattuor milia fere, quos Persae vario suppliciorum modo affecerant: alios pedibus, quosdam manibus auribusque amputatis, inustisque barbararum litterarum notis, in longum sui ludibrium[4] reservaverant: et cum se quoque alienae dicionis esse cernerent, volentes regi occurrere non prohibuerant. Invisitata simulacra,[5] non homines videbantur, nec quicquam in illis praeter vocem poterat agnosci. Plures igitur lacrimas commovere, quam profuderant ipsi: quippe in tam multiplici variaque fortuna singulorum, intuentibus[6] similes quidem, sed tamen dispares poenas, quis maxime miserabilis esset, liquere non poterat. Ut vero Jovem illi tandem Graeciae ultorem aperuisse oculos conclamavere, omnes pari supplicio affecti sibi videbantur.[7] Rex abstersis, quas profuderat, lacrimis, bonum habere animum jubet, visuros urbes suas conjugesque: et castra inde duo ab urbe stadia communit.

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[1] 'Given up.'

[2] For this use of the perfect subjunctive, see Zumpt, § 527.

[3] 'Among few;' that is, 'as few,' therefore 'especially,' *imprimis*. This is a common mode of expression with later Latin authors, not with Cicero.

[4] 'For an amusement to themselves;' that is, 'to make sport with them.'

[5] 'Figures or beings never before seen by mortal eye.'

[6] 'To those who looked at the injuries, similar, indeed, but yet different, it could not be clear,' &c.; that is, 'it was impossible to decide.'

[7] 'Then their sympathy was excited to such a degree, that they all felt as if they themselves had undergone similar mutilation

18. Graeci excesserant vallo, deliberaturi, quid potissimum a rege peterent: cumque aliis sedem in Asia rogare, aliis reverti domos[1] placeret, Euctemon Cymaeus[2] ita locutus ad eos fertur: Ii, qui modo etiam ad opem petendam ex tenebris et carcere procedere erubuimus, ut nunc est,[3] supplicia nostra (quorum nos pudeat magis an poeniteat[4] incertum est) ostentare Graeciae velut laetum spectaculum cupimus. Atque optime miserias ferunt, qui abscondunt: nec ulla tam familiaris est infelicibus patria, quam solitudo, et status prioris oblivio. Nam qui multum in suorum misericordia ponunt, ignorant, quam celeriter lacrimae inarescant. Nemo fideliter diligit, quem fastidit;[5] nam et calamitas querula est, et superba felicitas. Ita suam quisque fortunam in consilio habet,[6] cum de aliena deliberat. Nisi mutuo miseri essemus, olim alius alii potuissemus esse fastidio: quid mirum est, fortunatos semper parem quaerere? Obsecro vos, olim vita defuncti quaeramus locum, in quo haec semesa membra obruamus, ubi horribiles cicatrices celet exilium. Grati prorsus conjugibus, quas juvenes duximus, revertemur! Liberi in flore et aetatis et rerum agnoscent patres ergastuli detrimenta?[7] Et quota pars nostri[8] tot obire terras potest? Procul Europa in ultima Orientis relegati, senes, debiles, majore membrorum parte multati,[9] tolerabimus scilicet, quae armatos et victores fatigaverunt. Conjuges deinde, quas captis fors et necessitas unicum solatium applicuit, parvosque liberos, trahimus nobiscum, an relinquimus? Cum his venientes nemo agnoscere volet. Relinquemus ergo extemplo praesentia pignora,[10] cum incertum sit, an visuri

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[1] 'Home.' Observe the plural, and see *Gram.* § 257, 4.

[2] *Cymaeus* from the Greek town on the Aeolian coast of Asia Minor; but *Cumanus* from Cumane in Italy. See *Gram.* § 209, 5.

[3] 'As matters now stand,' or 'judging from present appearances.'

[4] See above, iv. 47.

[5] 'One, at the sight of whom he feels a squeamishness or loathing.'

[6] 'Has his own condition in his thoughts,' has always some reference to it.

[7] 'Offal or offscourings of a workhouse.' He means that the mutilation which they had sustained, and the hard labour to which they had been subjected, had left them mere remnants, as it were, of humanity. *Detrimentum*, in its original sense, is, 'that which is rubbed off from anything,' then more usually 'loss.'

[8] Literally, if we could say so, 'the *how many-eth* part;' that is, here, 'how few of us.'

[9] 'Being deprived, as a punishment, of the greater part of our limbs.' This is the only way we can express the *multare*, which literally means 'to fine.'

[10] *Pignora*, in this use of it, commonly means 'children;' but it may also include wives, as in iv. 53.

simus illa quae petimus? Inter hos latendum est, qui nos miseros nosse coeperunt. Haec Euctemon.

19. Contra Theaetetus Atheniensis orsus est dicere: Neminem pium habitu corporis suos aestimaturum, utique saevitia hostis, non natura, calamitosos. Dignum esse omni malo, qui erubesceret fortuito: tristem enim de mortalitate[1] ferre sententiam, et desperare misericordiam, quia ipse alteri denegaturus sit. Deos, quod ipsi nunquam optare ausi forent, offerre patriam, conjuges, liberos, et quicquid homines vel vita aestimant,[2] vel morte redimunt. Quin[3] illi ex hoc carcere erumperent: alium domi esse coeli haustum, alium lucis aspectum: mores, sacra, linguae commercium etiam a barbaris expeti: quae ingenita ipsi omissuri sint sua sponte, non ob aliud tam calamitosi, quam quod illis carere coacti essent. Se certe rediturum ad penates et in patriam, tantoque beneficio regis usurum: si quos contubernii,[4] liberorumque, quos servitus coëgisset agnoscere, amor detineret, relinquerent,[5] quibus nihil patria carius esset. Pauci hujus sententiae fuere: ceteros consuetudo, natura potior, vicit. Consenserunt, petendum esse a rege, ut aliquam ipsis attribueret sedem. Centum ad hoc electi sunt: quos Alexander ratus, quod ipse praestare cogitabat, petituros, Jumenta, inquit, assignari quae vos veherent, et singulis vestrum milia denarium[6] dari jussi. Cum redieritis in Graeciam, praestabo, ne qui[7] statum suum, si haec calamitas absit, vestro credat esse meliorem. Illi obortis lacrimis terram intuebantur, nec aut erigere vultus, aut loqui audebant: tandem rege tristitiae causam exigente, Euctemon similia iis, quae in consilio dixerat, respondit. Atque ille non fortunae solum eorum, sed etiam poenitentiae misertus, terna milia denarium singulis dari jussit: denae vestes adjectae sunt; et armenta cum pecoribus ac frumento data, ut coli serique attributus iis ager posset.

20. Postero die convocatos duces copiarum docet, nullam

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[1] Equivalent to *omnes mortales*, 'mankind.'

[2] 'Value as highly as life.' For the ablative of value, see *Gram.* § 294.

[3] A particle of excitement here: 'they might rather.' See *Gram.* § 352, note 4. As to the use of the subjunctive in the indirect speech, see *Gram.* §§ 370, and 388, note 2.

[4] Theaetetus here gives the contemptuous name of ***contubernium*** to that which the former speaker would have called ***matrimonium***. Slaves could not contract a legal marriage.

[5] Supply *ii*. We may understand as governed by ***relinquerent*** either 'their Persian wives and children,' or 'those of their companions who were disposed to remain in the country.'

[6] 'A thousand *denarii* to each of you.' See *Gram.* § 106.

[7] For *quis*. See *Gram.* § 119.

infestiorem urbem Graecis esse, quam regiam veterum Persidis regum. Hinc illa immensa agmina infusa:[1] hinc Dareum prius, dein Xerxem Europae impium intulisse bellum. Excidio illius parentandum[2] esse majoribus. Jamque barbari, deserto oppido, qua quemque metus agebat, diffugerant: cum rex phalangem nihil cunctatus inducit. Multas urbes, refertas opulentia regia, partim expugnaverat, partem in fidem acceperat, sed urbis hujus divitiae vicere praeterita. In hanc totius Persidis opes congesserant barbari: aurum argentumque cumulatum erat, vestis[3] ingens modus, supellex non ad usum, sed ad ostentationem luxus comparata. Itaque inter ipsos victores ferro dimicabatur: pro hoste erat, qui pretiosiorem occupaverat praedam: et cum omnia, quae recipiebant,[4] capere non possent, jam res non occupabantur, sed aestimabantur. Lacerabant regias vestes, ad se quisque partem trahentes: dolabris pretiosae artis vasa caedebant: nihil neque intactum erat, neque integrum ferebatur; abrupta simulacrorum membra, ut quisque avellerat, trahebat. Neque avaritia solum, sed etiam crudelitas, in capta urbe grassata est: auro argentoque onusti vilia captivorum corpora trucidabant, passimque[5] obvii caedebantur, quos ante pretium sui miserabiles fecerat.[6] Multi ergo hostium manus voluntaria morte occupaverunt, pretiosissima vestium induti e muris semetipsos cum conjugibus ac liberis in praeceps jacientes. Quidam ignes, quod paulo post facturus hostis videbatur, subjecerant aedibus, ut cum suis vivi cremarentur. Tandem suis[7] rex corporibus et cultu feminarum abstinere jussit. Ingens captivae pecuniae modus traditur, prope ut fidem excedat. Ceterum aut de aliis quoque dubitabimus, aut credemus, in hujus urbis gaza[8] fuisse C et XX milia talentum: ad quae vehenda (namque ad usus belli secum portare decreverat) jumenta et camelos a Susis et Babylone

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[1] Supply *in Graeciam*. Otherwise we should have expected *effusa*.

[2] This verb is used to express sacrifices offered to appease the dead.

[3] The singular expresses cloth, woven, but not made into particular garments. Carpets and tapestry too may be included.

[4] 'Which they were appropriating to themselves.' *Recipere* is wittily contrasted with *capere*, which here means 'to take, so as to make use of.'

[5] 'Here and there;' that is, at intervals everywhere throughout the city.

[6] 'Whom, before, their value had made worthy of pity.' 'Before (that is, before the soldiers became possessed of *articles* of more value), men had been considered worth something, and this value had made them be pitied, and consequently spared.'

[7] A very rare construction for *suos*. See *Gram.* § 375, note 2.

[8] 'The state-treasure,' which was kept in Persepolis. This signification of *gaza* we have already seen, iii. 33.

contrahi jussit. Accessere ad hanc pecuniae summam, captis Persagadis,[1] sex milia talentum. Cyrus Persagadum[2] urbem condiderat, quam Alexandro praefectus ejus Gobares tradidit.

21. Rex arcem Persepolis, III milibus Macedonum praesidio relictis, Nicarchiden tueri jubet: Tridati quoque, qui gazam tradiderat, servatus est honos, quem apud Dareum habuerat: magnaque exercitus parte et impedimentis ibi relictis, Parmeniona Craterumque praefecit. Ipse cum mille equitibus peditumque expedita manu interiorem Persidis regionem sub ipsum Vergiliarum sidus[3] petiit, multisque imbribus et prope intolerabili tempestate vexatus, procedere tamen, quo intenderat, perseveravit. Ventum erat ad iter perpetuis obstitum nivibus, quas frigoris vis gelu adstrinxerat. Locorum squalor et solitudines inviae fatigatum militem terrebant, humanarum rerum terminos se videre credentem. Omnia vasta atque sine ullo humani cultus vestigio attoniti intuebantur, et, antequam lux quoque et coelum ipsos deficerent, reverti jubebant. Rex castigare territos supersedit: ceterum ipse equo desiluit, pedesque per nives et concretam glaciem ingredi coepit. Erubuerunt non sequi, primum amici, deinde copiarum duces, ad ultimum milites; primusque rex dolabra glaciem perfringens, iter sibi fecit: exemplum regis ceteri imitati sunt. Tandem propemodum invias silvas emensi, humani cultus rara vestigia et passim errantes pecorum greges repperere: et incolae, qui sparsis tuguriis habitabant, cum se callibus inviis septos esse credidissent, ut conspexere hostium agmen, interfectis qui comitari fugientes non poterant, devios montes et nivibus obsitos petiverunt. Inde per colloquia captivorum paulatim feritate mitigata, tradidere se regi. Nec in deditos gravius consultum. Vastatis inde agris Persidis, vicisque compluribus redactis in potestatem, ventum est in Mardorum[4] gentem bellicosam et multum a ceteris Persis cultu vitae abhorrentem. Specus in montibus fodiunt, in quos seque[5] ac conjuges et liberos condunt: pecorum aut ferarum carne vescuntur. Ne feminis quidem pro naturae habitu molliora ingenia sunt: comae prominent hirtae, vestis super genua est: funda vinciunt

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[1] The chief town in Persis, next to Persepolis.

[2] Instead of *Persagadarum*. See *Gram.* § 54, note 5.

[3] 'About the time of the Pleiades.' We are not told whether it was about the time of their rising or setting. It seems to have been winter, and therefore towards the time of their setting in the west.

[4] A tribe bordering on the Persians, and indeed reckoned by Herodotus amongst them. The Mardi seem not to have all dwelt together, at least we find others further east. See vi. 18.

[5] For the various modes of expressing this kind of connection, see *Gram.* § 197, 1, note.

frontem, hoc et ornamentum capitis et telum est. Sed hanc quoque gentem idem fortunae impetus domuit. Itaque trigesimo die, postquam a Persepoli profectus erat, eodem rediit. Dona deinde amicis ceterisque pro cujusque merito dedit. Propemodum omnia, quae in ea urbe ceperat, distributa.

22. Ceterum ingentia animi bona, illam indolem, qua omnes reges antecessit, illam in subeundis periculis constantiam, in rebus moliendis[1] efficiendisque velocitatem, in deditos fidem, in captivos clementiam, in voluptatibus permissis quoque et usitatis temperantiam, haud tolerabili vini cupiditate foedavit. Hoste et aemulo regni reparante cummaxime[2] bellum, nuper subactis quos vicerat, novumque imperium aspernantibus, de die[3] inibat convivia: quibus feminae intererant, non quidem quas violari nefas esset, quippe pellices, licentius quam decebat cum armato vivere assuetae. Ex his una Thais, et ipsa[4] temulenta, maximam apud omnes Graecos initurum gratiam affirmat, si regiam Persarum jussisset incendi: expectare hoc eos, quorum urbes barbari delessent. Ebrio scorto de tanta re ferenti sententiam unus et alter, et ipsi mero onerati, assentiuntur. Rex quoque avidior fuit, quam patientior: Quin[5] igitur ulciscimur Graeciam, et urbi faces subdimus? Omnes incaluerant mero: itaque surgunt temulenti ad incendendam urbem, cui armati pepercerant. Primus rex ignem regiae injecit, tum convivae et ministri pellicesque. Multa cedro aedificata erat regia: quae celeriter igne concepto, late fudit incendium. Quod ubi exercitus, qui haud procul urbe tendebat,[6] conspexit, fortuitum ratus, ad opem ferendam concurrit. Sed ut ad vestibulum regiae ventum est, vident regem ipsum adhuc aggerentem faces. Omissa igitur, quam portaverant, aqua, aridam materiem in incendium jacere coeperunt.

23. Hunc exitum habuit regia totius Orientis, unde tot gentes antea jura petebant,[7] patria tot regum, unicus quon-

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[1] 'Undertaking;' only employed in reference to affairs of great difficulty and importance.

[2] 'With the utmost vigour.' In connection with a tense of the past (*reparante* is here the participle of the imperfect), *tum maxime* is more frequently used. See Zumpt, § 285.

[3] 'Even before the close of day:' he, as it were, 'stole away a part from the day,' by beginning his orgies before evening, which was the ordinary time, in antiquity, for the principal meal of the day. In the same manner *de nocte* is used: for instance, *de nocte surgere, proficisci*, 'to rise, set out, before daybreak.'

[4] See Zumpt, § 698. Very frequent with Curtius, not with Cicero.

[5] 'Why not?' An expression of impatience and quick resolve.

[6] Equivalent to *sub tentoriis erat.*

[7] 'Sought their rights;' that is, decisions of what they were to hold right and lawful.

dam Graeciae terror, molita mille navium classem et exercitus, quibus Europa inundata est, contabulato mari molibus,[1] perfossisque montibus, in quorum specus fretum immissum est. Ac ne tam longa quidem aetate, quae excidium ejus secuta est, resurrexit.[2] Alias urbes habuere Macedonum reges, quas nunc habent Parthi: hujus vestigium non inveniretur, nisi Araxes amnis ostenderet. Haud procul moenibus fluxerat: inde urbem fuisse XX stadiis[3] distantem credunt magis, quam sciunt, accolae. Pudebat Macedones, tam praeclaram urbem a comissabundo[4] rege deletam esse. Itaque res in serium versa est, et imperaverunt sibi, ut crederent illo potissimum modo fuisse delendam. Ipsum, ut primum gravatam ebrietate mentem quies reddidit, poenituisse constat, et dixisse, majores poenas Graecis Persas daturos fuisse, si ipsum in solio regiaque Xerxis conspicere coacti essent. Postero die Lycio, itineris, quo Persidem intraverat, duci XXX talenta dono dedit. Hinc in regionem Mediae transiit, ubi supplementum novorum e Cilicia militum occurrit. Peditum erant quinque milia, equites mille: utrisque Platon Atheniensis praeerat. His copiis auctus, Dareum persequi statuit.

24. Ille jam Ecbatana pervenerat; caput Mediae urbs haec: nunc tenent Parthi,[5] eaque aestiva agentibus sedes est. Adire deinde Bactra decreverat, sed veritus, ne celeritate Alexandri occuparetur, consilium iterque mutavit. Aberat ab eo Alexander stadia MD; sed jam nullum intervallum adversus velocitatem ejus satis longum videbatur. Itaque proelio magis, quam fugae, praeparabat. XXX milia peditum sequebantur, in quibus Graecorum erant quattuor milia, fide erga regem ad ultimum invicta. Funditorum quoque et sagit-

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[1] 'After the sea had been boarded or floored with masses.' These *moles* were boats fastened together, and planked over, forming a bridge across the Hellespont. This was made by Xerxes during his expedition into Greece, as we learn from Herodotus.

[2] It is believed that the ruins on Bend Emir, which are called by the natives the 'forty pillars' (*Tschil miner*), are the sad remains of the proud capital of the Achaemenides.

[3] The accusative is more usual. See *Gram.* § 256, note 2.

[4] *Comissari* (from the Greek κωμάζειν) is properly said of one who goes about from village to village drinking with his boon companions, then it means generally 'to engage in riotous merriment,' 'to hold nightly revels.' Regarding the signification of the termination *bundus*, see *Gram.* § 145.

[5] The Parthians, who were an insignificant tribe under the Persian government, and were for some time subject to the successors of Alexander, revolted at length in the year 250 B.C. from the Macedonian dynasty of the Seleucidae, and under their own kings, the Arsacidae, gradually extended their power, until, about 200 years after Alexander, their empire reached even to the Euphrates.

tariorum manus quattuor milia expleverat: praeter hos IIII milia et CCC equites erant, maxime Bactrianorum. Bessus praeerat, Bactrianae regionis praefectus. Cum hoc agmine paulum declinavit via militari, jussis praecedere lixis impedimentorumque custodibus. Consilio deinde advocato, Si cum ignavis, inquit, et pluris qualemcunque vitam[1] honesta morte aestimantibus fortuna junxisset, tacerem potius, quam frustra verba consumerem. Sed majore, quam vellem,[2] documento et virtutem vestram, et fidem expertus, magis etiam conniti debeo, ut dignus talibus amicis sim, quam dubitare, an vestri similes adhuc sitis. Ex tot milibus, quae sub imperio fuerunt meo, bis me victum, bis fugientem persecuti estis. Fides vestra et constantia, ut regem me esse credam, facit. Proditores et transfugae in urbibus meis regnant: non hercule quia tanto honore digni habentur,[3] sed ut praemiis eorum vestri sollicitentur animi. Meam fortunam tamen quam victoris maluistis sequi, dignissimi, quibus, si ego non possim, dii pro me gratiam referant. Et mehercule referent. Nulla erit tam surda posteritas, nulla tam ingrata fama, quae non in coelum vos debitis laudibus ferat.

25. Itaque etiamsi consilium fugae, a qua multum abhorret animus, agitassem, vestra tamen virtute fretus obviam issem hosti. Quousque enim in regno exulabo, et per fines imperii mei fugiam externum et advenam regem? cum liceat experto belli fortunam aut reparare quae amisi, aut honesta morte defungi.[4] Ni forte satius est expectare victoris arbitrium, et Mazaei et Mithrenis exemplo precarium accipere regnum nationis unius: ut[5] jam malit ille gloriae suae, quam irae obsequi. Nec dii siverint, ut hoc decus mei capitis[6] aut demere mihi quisquam aut condonare possit: nec hoc imperium vivus amittam, idemque erit regni mei, qui spiritus, finis.[7] Si hic animus, si haec lex, nulli non parta libertas

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[1] 'A life, in whatever circumstances it may be spent.' See *Gram.* § 121.

[2] For this subjunctive, see *Gram.* § 360, 3, note 1.

[3] Properly *habeantur*. See Zumpt, § 537.

[4] 'To die.' Both *morte* and *vita defungi* can be said, because *defungi* originally means, 'to finish a business, and get rid of it.' In later Latinity, we find *defunctus* alone, without an ablative, in the sense of 'dead.'

[5] 'Granting that.' The four senses in which *ut* regularly governs the subjunctive are, 'in order that,' 'so that,' 'granting that,' and 'how' in an indirect question. See *Gram.* § 352, note 1.

[6] Namely, the *cidaris*, or upright tiara. See iii. 8.

[7] 'My government will end with my breath (that is, life);' 'I shall cease to live when I cease to rule.' See Zumpt, § 704.

est:[1] nemo e vobis fastidium Macedonum, nemo vultum superbum ferre cogetur. Sua cuique dextera aut ultionem tot malorum pariet, aut finem. Equidem, quam versabilis fortuna sit, documentum ipse sum. Nec immerito mitiores vices ejus expecto. Sed si justa ac pia bella dii aversantur, fortibus tamen viris licebit honeste mori. Per ego vos decora majorum,[2] qui totius Orientis regna cum memorabili laude tenuerunt, per illos viros, quibus stipendium Macedonia quondam tulit, per tot navium classes in Graeciam missas, per tot tropaea regum oro et obtestor, ut nobilitate vestra gentisque dignos spiritus[3] capiatis, ut eadem constantia animorum, qua praeterita tolerastis, experiamini quicquid deinde fors tulerit. Me certe in perpetuum aut victoria egregia nobilitabit, aut pugna.

26. Haec dicente Dareo, praesentis periculi species omnium simul corda animosque horrore perstrinxerat,[4] nec aut consilium suppetebat, aut vox: cum Artabazus vetustissimus[5] amicorum, quem hospitem fuisse Philippi saepe diximus, Nos vero,[6] inquit, pretiosissimam vestem induti[7] armisque quanto maximo cultu possumus adornati, regem in aciem sequemur, ea quidem mente, ut victoriam speremus, mortem non recusemus. Assensu excepere ceteri hanc vocem. Sed Nabarzanes, qui in eodem consilio erat cum Besso, inauditi antea facinoris societate inita, regem suum per milites, quibus ambo praeerant, comprehendere et vincire decreverant,[8] ea mente, ut, si Alexander ipsos insecutus foret, tradito rege vivo inirent gratiam victoris, magni pro-

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[1] 'Then every one has gained freedom:' *nulli non* is equivalent to *cuivis*. See Zumpt, § 755.

[2] The construction is *Ego vos per decora majorum . . . . oro et obtestor*. Regarding this *ordo verborum*, see Zumpt, § 794.

[3] Equivalent to *animos*, 'courage.' Regarding the plural, see *Gram.* § 76, and Zumpt, § 92.

[4] 'The idea of the present danger had filled the minds of all with alarm;' it had 'stripped off' every other feeling, just as a sharp knife goes over a tree, and clears it of all superfluous boughs.

[5] See *Gram.* § 97, note 1. *Vetus amicus* refers not to the age of the man, but to the length of his acquaintance with the other. The fact of Artabazus having been a *hospes* of Philip, must have been mentioned by Curtius in the first or second book. He repeats the statement in vi. 14.

[6] *Vero* is frequently used to introduce a reply. Here Artabazus takes up the sentiment in the conclusion of the king's speech, and says, 'Yes, assuredly we shall follow,' &c.

[7] For this construction, see *Gram.* § 259, 1.

[8] The plural verb does not agree with the grammatical subject, *Nabarzanes;* but from the intervention of the statement regarding Bessus, *ambo* is conceived as the subject.

fecto cepisse Dareum aestimaturi, sin autem eum effugere potuissent, interfecto Dareo, regnum ipsi occuparent, bellumque renovarent. Hoc parricidium cum diu volutassent, Nabarzanes aditum nefariae spei praeparans, Scio me, inquit, sententiam esse dicturum, prima specie haudquaquam auribus tuis gratam. Sed medici quoque graviores morbos asperis remediis curant, et gubernator, ubi naufragium timet, jactura[1] quicquid servari potest redimit. Ego tamen, non ut damnum quidem facias,[2] suadeo, sed ut te ac regnum tuum salubri ratione conserves. Diis adversis bellum inimus, et pertinax fortuna Persas urgere non desinit. Novis initiis et ominibus opus est.[3] Auspicium[4] et imperium interim alii trade, qui tamdiu rex appelletur, donec Asia decedat hostis, victor deinde regnum tibi reddat. Hoc autem brevi futurum ratio promittit. Bactra intacta sunt: Indi et Sacae in tua potestate: tot populi, tot exercitus, tot equitum peditumque milia ad renovandum bellum vires paratas habent, ut major belli moles supersit, quam exhausta sit. Quid ruimus beluarum ritu in perniciem non necessariam? Fortium virorum est, magis mortem contemnere, quam odisse vitam. Saepe taedio laboris ad vilitatem sui[5] compelluntur ignavi: at nihil virtus inexpertum omittit. Itaque ultimum omnium mors est, ad quam non pigre ire satis est. Proinde si Bactra, quod tutissimum receptaculum est, petimus, praefectum regionis ejus Bessum regem temporis gratia statuamus. Compositis rebus, justo regi tibi fiduciarium[6] restituet imperium.

27. Haud mirum est, Dareum non temperasse animo,[7] quamquam tam impiae voci quantum nefas esset,[8] latebat.

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[1] In the sense of its derivation, 'by throwing overboard' the weightier part of the cargo. *Jactura* ultimately means 'loss;' properly, 'a loss, in order to obtain an advantage.'

[2] 'Voluntarily effect a loss:' *damnum pati* is 'to endure a loss.'

[3] 'There is need of new beginnings (that is, of beginning anew) and new omens.' Nothing of great importance was undertaken in ancient times without observing omens, which were considered as the voice of divinity.

[4] *Auspicium* in the Roman sense, was the right of consulting the will of the gods, by observing the flight of birds. This was enjoyed by the commander-in-chief of an army. Consequently, what was done either under his own immediate command, or by his subordinate officers, was said to be done *sub auspiciis ejus*. *Auspicium*, therefore, may mean generally 'authority,' 'command.'

[5] 'To a low estimate of themselves.' See *Gram.* § 273, note 4.

[6] 'Intrusted to him as a mark of confidence.'

[7] 'Restrain his feelings.' For the construction of *tempero*, see *Gram.* § 264, note 2.

[8] 'How great a crime that impious speech implied.'

Itaque, Pessimum, inquit, mancipium, repperisti exoptatum tibi tempus, quo parricidium[1] aperires! strictoque acinace interfecturus eum videbatur,[2] ni propere Bessus Bactrianique, deprecantium specie, ceterum, si perseveraret, vincturi, circumstetissent. Nabarzanes interim elapsus, mox et Bessus consecutus, copias, quibus praeerant, a cetero exercitu secedere jubent, secretum inituri consilium. Artabazus convenientem praesenti fortunae sententiam orsus, mitigare Dareum, temporum identidem admonens, coepit: ferret aequo animo qualiumcunque, suorum tamen,[3] vel stultitiam, vel errorem. Instare Alexandrum gravem, etiamsi omnes praesto essent:[4] quid futurum, si persecuti fugam ipsius alienentur? Aegre paruit Artabazo, et quamquam movere castra statuerat, turbatis tamen omnium animis, eodem in loco substitit. Sed attonitus[5] maestitia simul et desperatione tabernaculo se inclusit. Ergo in castris, quae nullius regebantur imperio, varii animorum motus erant, nec in commune, ut antea, consulebatur. Dux Graecorum militum Patron arma capere suos jubet, paratosque esse ad exequendum imperium. Persae secesserant: Bessus cum Bactrianis erat, temptabatque Persas abducere, Bactra et intactae regionis opulenta,[6] simulque quae manentibus instarent pericula, ostentans. Persarum omnium eadem fere fuit vox, nefas esse deseri regem. Inter haec Artabazus omnibus imperatoriis fungebatur officiis: ille[7] Persarum tabernacula circumire, hortari, monere nunc singulos, nunc universos, non ante destitit, quam satis constaret imperata facturos. Idem aegre a Dareo impetravit, ut cibum caperet, animumque rebus adverteret.

28. At Bessus et Nabarzanes, olim agitatum scelus exequi statuunt, regni cupiditate accensi: Dareo autem incolumi tantas opes sperare non poterant. Quippe in illis gentibus regum eximia majestas est: ad nomen quoque[8] barbari con-

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[1] 'Treason.' The king, according to Roman usage, calls a design against his sacred person 'parricide.'

[2] 'He would have killed him it appeared.' See *Gram.* § 246, note.

[3] 'The folly or error of men, who, whatever their conduct, were nevertheless still his subjects.'

[4] *Praesto sum*, 'I am present,' therefore, 'ready to help.' Compare *Gram.* § 88, 4.

[5] 'Beaten down,' or 'borne down,' equivalent to *perculsus;* said properly of those who, being struck by lightning, are paralysed.

[6] Equivalent to *intactam et opulentam regionem*, or *opulentiam intactae regionis*. The neuter plural is very commonly used in this substantive sense. See Zumpt, § 435.

[7] 'He,' emphatically. See Zumpt, § 702.

[8] 'At the very name of king;' that is, as soon as it is said, 'The king commands it.'

veniunt, et pristinae veneratio fortunae sequitur adversam. Inflabat impios animos regio, cui praeerant, armis virisque et spatio locorum nulli earum gentium secunda. Tertiam partem Asiae tenet:[1] multitudo juniorum exercitus, quos amiserat Dareus, aequabat. Itaque non illum modo, sed etiam Alexandrum spernebant, inde vires imperii repetituri, si regis potiri contigisset.[2] Diu omnibus cogitatis, placuit per milites Bactrianos, ad omne obsequium destinatos,[3] regem comprehendere, mittique nuntium ad Alexandrum, qui indicaret, vivum asservari eum; si, id quod timebant, proditionem aspernatus esset, occisuri[4] Dareum, et Bactra cum suarum gentium manu petituri. Ceterum propalam comprehendi Dareus non poterat, tot Persarum milibus laturis opem regi:[5] Graecorum quoque fides timebatur. Itaque quod vi non poterant, fraude assequi temptant: poenitentiam secessionis simulare decreverant, et excusare apud regem consternationem suam.[6] Interim qui Persas sollicitarent mittuntur. Hinc spe, hinc metu militares[7] animos versant: ruinae rei subdere illos capita, in perniciem trahi, cum Bactra pateant, exceptura eos donis et opulentia, animis quam[8] concipere non possint.

29. Haec agitantibus Artabazus supervenit, sive regis jussu, sive sua sponte, affirmans, mitigatum esse Dareum, et eundem illis amicitiae gradum patere[9] apud regem. Illi lacri-

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[1] An exaggeration, at least if, as has been before stated, Bessus was satrap only of Bactriana and Sogdiana. Nabarzanes is nowhere mentioned as a satrap at all: we hear of him only as a general. Perhaps, however, we may suppose that the governors of the provinces to the east of Media sided with Bessus. In this case the statement that his influence prevailed over a third of Persian Asia is not far from the truth.

[2] Supply *ipsis*. *Mihi contingit* is not unfrequently followed by the infinitive.

[3] 'Decided,' 'resolved.'

[4] It is forgotten that this participle should be under the influence of *placuit*, and it is put in the nominative, a verb, *statuerunt*, being conceived, synonymous with *placuit*.

[5] The ablative absolute with a participle future active occurs very rarely, and still more rarely with the gerundive.

[6] 'To allege to the king, as an excuse for their conduct, that their alarm had deprived them of the power of sober consideration.' This state of mind is expressed by *consternatio*, from the transitive verb *consterno*.

[7] For *militum*, or, at most, with a very slight shade of difference. We find afterwards, accordingly, *illos*; that is, *milites*. *Rei* is equivalent to *rei publicae*.

[8] For *quam animis*, a transposition by no means common.

[9] 'That the same degree of friendship (that is, rank in the king's service) was open to them which they had held before.'

mantes nunc purgare se, nunc Artabazum orare, ut causam ipsorum tueretur, precesque perferret. Sic peracta nocte, sub lucis exortum Nabarzanes cum Bactrianis militibus in vestibulo praetorii aderant,[1] titulum sollemnis officii occulto sceleri praeferentes. Dareus, signo ad eundum dato, currum pristino more conscendit. Nabarzanes ceterique parricidae procumbentes humi, quem paulo post in vinculis habituri erant sustinuere venerari, lacrimas etiam poenitentiae indices profuderunt: adeo humanis ingeniis parata[2] simulatio est. Preces deinde suppliciter admotae Dareum, natura simplicem et mitem, non credere modo quae affirmabant, sed flere etiam coëgerunt. Ac ne tum quidem cogitati sceleris poenituit, cum intuerentur,[3] qualem et regem et virum fallerent. Ille quidem, securus periculi quod instabat, Alexandri manus, quas solas timebat, effugere properabat.

30. Patron autem, Graecorum dux, praecipit[4] suis, ut arma, quae in sarcinis antea ferebantur, induerent, ad omne imperium suum parati et intenti. Ipse currum regis sequebatur, occasioni imminens[5] alloquendi eum: quippe Bessi facinus praesenserat. Sed Bessus, id ipsum metuens, custos verius, quam comes, a curru non recedebat. Diu ergo Patron cunctatus, ac saepius sermone revocatus,[6] inter fidem timoremque haesitans regem intuebatur. Qui ut tandem advertit oculos, Bubacen spadonem inter proximos currum sequentem percontari jubet, numquid ipsi velit dicere. Patron, se vero, sed remotis arbitris, loqui velle cum eo, respondit. Jussusque propius accedere, sine interprete, nam haud rudis Graecae linguae Dareus erat: Rex, inquit, ex L milibus Graecorum supersumus pauci, omnis fortunae tuae comites, et in hoc tuo statu iidem, qui florente te fuimus, quascunque terras elegeris, pro patria et domesticis rebus petituri. Secundae adversaeque res tuae copulavere nos tecum. Per hanc fidem invictam oro et obtestor, in nostris castris tibi tabernaculum statue, nos corporis tui custodes esse patiaris. Omisimus Graeciam, nulla

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[1] For *aderat*. See *Gram.* § 244, 3.

[2] 'Is prepared;' that is, 'stands in readiness for,' or 'at the command of.'

[3] With *tum cum* we should expect the indicative; but *cum* (even *temporale*) may always be followed by the imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive. See Zumpt, § 579, note.

[4] *Praecipit ut induerent.* An historical present may be followed, in dependent clauses, by a past tense. See Zumpt, § 501.

[5] 'Waiting for an opportunity;' literally, 'hanging over (that is, ready to dart down upon and seize) an opportunity.'

[6] 'Called back from speaking;' that is, his mind sometimes brought him to the very point of addressing the king, and then again suddenly drove him back.

Bactra sunt nobis: spes omnis in te, utinam et in ceteris esset. Plura dici not attinet.[1] Custodiam corporis tui externus et alienigena non deposcerem, si crederem alium posse praestare.

31. Bessus, quamquam erat Graeci sermonis ignarus, tamen, stimulante conscientia, indicium profecto Patronem detulisse credebat: et interpretis relato sermone Graeci[2] exempta dubitatio est. Dareus autem, quantum ex vultu concipi poterat, haud sane territus, percontari Patrona causam consilii, quod afferret, coepit. Ille non ultra differendum ratus, Bessus, inquit, et Nabarzanes insidiantur tibi, in ultimo discrimine et fortunae tuae et vitae.[3] Hic dies aut parricidis aut tibi futurus ultimus. Et Patron quidem egregiam conservati regis gloriam tulerat. Eludant videlicet, quibus forte temere humana negotia volvi agique persuasum est: equidem aeterna constitutione crediderim nexuque causarum latentium, ex multo ante destinatarum, suum quemque ordinem immutabili lege percurrere.[4] Dareus certe respondit, quamquam sibi Graecorum militum fides nota sit, nunquam tamen a popularibus suis recessurum.[5] Difficilius sibi esse damnare, quam decipi. Quicquid fors tulisset, inter suos perpeti malle, quam transfugam fieri. Se perire sero,[6] si salvum esse milites sui nollent. Patron, desperata regis salute, ad eos quibus praeerat, rediit, omnia pro fide experiri paratus.

32. At Bessus occidendi protinus[7] regis impetum ceperat. Sed veritus, ne gratiam Alexandri, nisi vivum eum tradidisset, inire non posset, dilato in proximam noctem sceleris consilio, agere gratias incipit, quod perfidi hominis insidias, jam Alexandri opes spectantis, prudenter cauteque vitasset. Donum eum hosti laturum fuisse regus caput. Nec mirari,[8]

[1] 'It is unnecessary for more to be said.' Patron breaks off here, because he does not wish to become an informer, without an express command.

[2] 'After the conversation of the Greek interpreter was reported to him.' This must refer to the dialogue carried on between Bubaces and Patron through the interpreter.

[3] We must perhaps supply *es*.

[4] 'Those who hold the opinion that the course of human life is accidental and unregulated, may (naturally enough) laugh at me; I for my part believe that every man runs his race of life by an unchangeable law, according to an eternal decree, and a mysterious web of hidden causes, arranged long before.' *Eludant* is the concessive subjunctive. See *Gram.* § 351. As to *forte temere*, see Zumpt, § 742. The phrase *volvi agique* is taken from the motion of the heavenly bodies.

[5] Out of the preceding *sibi* supply *se*.

[6] 'Too late;' that is, that he would have lived too long.

[7] 'Forthwith,' 'immediately.' For remarks upon the meaning of this and similar adverbs, see Zumpt, § 272.

[8] Supply *se*. The omission of the reflective pronoun before the in-

hominem mercede conductum omnia habere venalia: sine pignore, sine lare,[1] terrarum orbis exulem, ancipitem hostem,[2] ad nutum licentium circumferri.[3] Purganti deinde se, deosque patrios testes fidei suae invocanti Dareus vultu assentiebatur, haud dubius quin vera deferrentur a Graecis; sed eo rerum ventum erat, ut tam periculosum esset non credere suis, quam decipi. XXX milia erant, quorum inclinata in scelus levitas timebatur: IV milia Patron habebat; quibus si credidisset salutem suam, damnata popularium fide, parricidio excusationem videbat offerri. Itaque praeoptabat immerito, quam jure violari. Besso tamen insidiarum consilium purganti[4] respondit, Alexandri sibi non minus justitiam, quam virtutem, esse perspectam. Falli eos, qui proditionis ab eo praemium expectent: violatae fidei neminem acriorem fore vindicem[5] ultoremque. Jamque nox appetebat, cum Persae more solito, armis positis, ad necessaria ex proximo vico ferenda discurrunt. At Bactriani, ut imperatum a Besso erat, armati stabant.

33. Inter haec Dareus Artabazum acciri jubet: expositisque, quae Patron detulerat, haud dubitare Artabazus, quin transeundum esset in castra Graecorum. Persas quoque, periculo vulgato, secuturos. Destinatus sorti suae, et jam nullius salubris consilii patiens,[6] unicam in illa fortuna opem Artabazum, ultimum[7] illum visurus, amplectitur; perfususque mutuis lacrimis, inhaerentem sibi avelli jubet; capite deinde velato, ne inter gemitus digredientem velut a rogo[8] intueretur, in humum pronum corpus abjecit. Tum vero custodia ejus assueti,[9] quos regis salutem vel periculo vitae tueri oportebat,[10] dilapsi sunt, armatis, quos jam adventare credebant,

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finitive is more common in long speeches, than in such short specimens of the *oratio obliqua* as the present.

[1] 'Home,' 'permanent residence;' *lar*, the 'house-god' used for *domus*.

[2] 'An enemy of the one as well as the other.'

[3] 'To turn about at the nod of the bidders;' *liceri*, to bid at an auction.

[4] We may say *pergo me de aliquo crimine*, or *alicujus criminis;* or *purgo crimen meum*, 'I refute a charge made against me;' or *purgo innocentiam meam*.

[5] *Vindex ultorque;* 'a supporter of a good cause, and a punisher of villany.'

[6] For participles governing the genitive, see *Gram.* §§ 277, 1, and 403, note.

[7] An adverb, 'for the last time.' See *Gram.* § 109, note 1.

[8] 'In order not to look upon him, who was going away as if from a funeral pile.' We should say, 'as if from a tomb.'

[9] 'His usual body-guards.' For the construction of *assuesco*, see *Gram.* § 301, note 2.

[10] 'Who ought to have defended,' &c. See *Gram.* § 328.

haud rati se futuros pares. Ingens ergo in tabernaculo solitudo erat, paucis spadonibus, quia quo discederent non habebant, circumstantibus regem. At ille, remotis arbitris, diu aliud atque aliud consilium animo volutabat. Jamque solitudinem, quam paulo ante pro solatio petiverat, perosus,[1] Bubacen vocari jubet. Quem intuens, Ite, inquit, consulite, vobis, ad ultimum regi vestro, ut decebat, fide exhibita. Ego hic legem fati mei expecto. Forsitan mireris, quod vitam non finiam: alieno scelere, quam meo, mori malo. Post hanc vocem spado gemitu non tabernaculum modo, sed etiam castra complevit. Irrupere deinde alii, laceratisque vestibus lugubri et barbaro ululatu regem deplorare coeperunt. Persae, ad illos clamore perlato, attoniti metu, nec arma capere, ne in Bactrianos inciderent, nec quiescere audebant, ne impie deserere regem viderentur. Varius ac dissonus clamor sine duce ac sine imperio totis castris referebatur.[2]

34. Besso et Nabarzani nuntiaverant sui, regem a semetipso interemptum esse. Planctus eos deceperat. Itaque citatis equis advolant, sequentibus quos ad ministerium sceleris delegerant; et cum tabernaculum intrassent, quia regem vivere spadones indicabant, comprehendi vincirique jusserunt. Rex curru paulo ante vectus et deorum auspiciis ac suis honoribus[3] cultus, nulla externa ope[4] admota, captivus servorum suorum, in sordidum vehiculum pellibus undique contectum imponitur. Pecunia regis et supellex quasi belli jure diripitur; onustique praeda, per scelus ultimum parta, fugam intendunt.[5] Artabazus cum his, qui imperio parebant, Graecisque militibus, Parthienen petebat, omnia tutiora parricidarum contuitu ratus. Persae, promissis Bessi onerati, maxime quia nemo alius erat, quem sequerentur, conjunxere se Bactrianis, agmen eorum tertio assecuti die. Ne tamen honos regi non haberetur, aureis compedibus Dareum vinciunt, nova ludibria subinde[6] excogitante fortuna. Et ne forte cultu regio posset agnosci, sordidis pellibus vehiculum intexerant: ignoti jumenta agebant, ne percontantibus in agmine monstrari posset: custodes procul sequebantur.

35. Alexander, audito[7] Dareum movisse ab Ecbatanis,

[1] Passive form, but active signification. See Zumpt, § 221.

[2] Equivalent to *resonabat*.

[3] He had been doubly honoured by the pictures and emblems of the gods, which were carried before him, and by the honours paid to himself as king.

[4] In the unusual sense of hostile, not auxiliary, power.

[5] 'They take to flight.' The mode of expression *fugam intendere* is founded on the common phrase *iter intendere*.

[6] 'From time to time.'

[7] For such a participle as this in the ablative absolute, without a

omisso itinere, quod patebat in Mediam, fugientem insequi pergit strenue.[1] Tabas (oppidum est in Paraetacene ultima) pervenit: ibi transfugae nuntiant, praecipitem fuga Bactra petere Dareum. Certiora deinde cognoscit ex Bagistane Babylonio: non equidem[2] vinctum regem, sed in periculo esse aut mortis, aut vinculorum affirmabat. Rex, ducibus convocatis, Maximum, inquit, opus, sed labor brevissimus superest. Dareus haud procul destitutus a suis, aut oppressus. In illo corpore posita est nostra victoria, et tanta res celeritatis est praemium. Omnes pariter conclamant, paratos ipsos sequi: nec labori, nec periculo parceret. Igitur raptim agmen cursus magis quam itineris modo ducit, ne nocturna quidem quieto diurnum laborem relaxante. Itaque quingenta stadia processit, perventumque erat in vicum, in quo Dareum Bessus comprehenderat. Ibi Melon Darei interpres excipitur. Corpore aeger non potuerat agmen assequi, et deprehensus celeritate regis, transfugam se esse simulabat. Ex hoc acta cognoscit. Sed fatigatis necessaria quies erat. Itaque delectis equitum sex milibus, trecentos, quos Dimachas appellabant, adjungit: dorso hi graviora arma portabant, ceterum equis vehebantur; cum res locusque posceret, pedestris acies erat.[3]

36. Haec agentem Alexandrum adeunt Orsilos et Mithracenis: Bessi parricidium exosi transfugerant, nuntiabantque, stadia D abesse Persas, ipsos brevius iter monstraturos. Gratus regi adventus transfugarum fuit. Itaque prima vespera ducibus iisdem cum expedita equitum manu monstratam viam ingreditur, phalange, quantum festinare posset, sequi jussa. Ipse, quadrato agmine incedens, ita cursum

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substantive, see *Gram.* § 405, note 5. As to *ab Ecbatanis*, for the simple ablative, see *Gram.* § 307, 3, note 1.

[1] There is here a discrepancy between Curtius and Arrian. According to the latter historian, Alexander *did* advance into Media, besieged Ecbatana, the capital of that province, and then made a march of eleven days through Media to Rhagae (in the neighbourhood of the modern Teheran). He afterwards passed through the Parthian gate on the way to Parthia. It was then, for the first time, he obtained intelligence of Darius being kept as a prisoner by his own soldiers. Tabae, the town mentioned by Curtius, was situated in the province of Paraetacene, which lay between Persis and Media.

[2] *Equidem* is here equivalent to *sane quidem*. Compare viii. 27. In Cicero it is always joined to a verb in the first person. See Zumpt, § 278.

[3] There were some of the heavy-armed infantry, hoplites, who at times acted as cavalry. Hence their name *Dimachae*, 'double fighters.' When on horseback, they slung their heavy arms at their backs. *Dorso* for *tergo*, an extraordinary use of the word, *dorsum* properly signifying the back of animals only.

regebat, ut primi conjungi ultimis possent. CCC stadia processerant, cum occurrit Brocubelus, Mazaei filius, Syriae quondam praetor. Is quoque transfuga nuntiabat, Bessum haud amplius quam CC stadia abesse. Exercitum, utpote qui nihil praecaveret, incompositum inordinatumque procedere. Hyrcaniam videri petituros. Si festinaret sequi, palantes superventurum.[1] Dareum adhuc vivere. Strenuo alioquin cupiditatem consequendi transfuga injecerat. Itaque calcaribus subditis, effuso cursu eunt. Jamque fremitus hostium iter ingredientium exaudiebatur; sed prospectum ademerat pulveris nubes. Paulisper ergo inhibuit cursum, donec consideret pulvis. Jamque conspecti a barbaris erant, et abeuntium agmen conspexerant, nequaquam futuri pares,[2] si Besso tantum animi fuisset ad proelium, quantum ad parricidium fuerat. Namque et numero barbari praestabant, et robore: ad hoc refecti cum fatigatis certamen inituri erant. Sed nomen Alexandri, et fama, maximum in bello utique momentum, pavidos in fugam avertit.

37. Bessus vero et ceteri facinoris ejus participes, vehiculum Darei assecuti, coeperunt hortari eum, conscenderet[3] equum, et se hosti fuga eriperet. Ille deos ultores adesse testatur, et Alexandri fidem implorans negat, se parricidas velle comitari. Tum vero ira quoque accensi, tela conjiciunt in regem, multisque confossum vulneribus relinquunt. Jumenta quoque, ne longius prosequi possent, convulnerant, duobus servis, qui regem comitabantur, occisis. Hoc edito facinore, ut vestigia fugae spargerent, Nabarzanes Hyrcaniam, Bessus Bactra, paucis equitum comitantibus, petebant: barbari, ducibus destituti,[4] qua quemque aut spes ducebat, aut pavor, dissipabantur: D tantum equites congregaverant se, incerti adhuc, resistere melius esset, an fugere. Alexander, hostium trepidatione comperta, Nicanorem cum equitum parte ad inhibendam fugam emittit: ipse cum ceteris sequitur. III ferme milia resistentia occisa sunt; reliquum agmen pecudum more[5] intactum agebatur, jubente rege, ut caedibus abstineretur. Nemo captivorum erat, qui mon-

[1] *Supervenire* governs either the dative or accusative; the dative particularly when it means 'to come up while some one is doing something;' the accusative when, as here, it signifies 'to come up with,' 'to surprise.'

[2] 'They would not have been at all a match for the Persians, if, &c. The apodosis of a hypothetical sentence is implied in the participle. See Zumpt, § 639, note.

[3] *Ut* omitted. See *Gram.* § 352, note 1.

[4] Equivalent to *privati*, 'deprived,' 'bereft.'

[5] 'Like sheep;' for these are commonly understood under the term *pecudes*.

strare Darei vehiculum posset: singuli, ut quaque prenderent,[1] scrutabantur, nec tamen ullum vestigium fugae regis extabat. Festinantem Alexandrum vix tria milia equitum persecuta sunt. At in eos, qui lentius sequebantur, incidebant universa fugientium agmina. Vix credibile dictu, plures captivi, quam qui caperent erant: adeo omnem sensum territis fortuna penitus excusserat, ut nec hostium paucitatem, nec multitudinem suam satis cernerent.

38. Interim jumenta, quae Dareum vehebant, nullo regente decesserant militari via, et errore delata per quattuor stadia,[2] in quadam valle constiterant, aestu simulque vulneribus fatigata. Haud procul erat fons, ad quem monstratum a peritis[3] Polystratus Macedo siti maceratus accessit: ac dum galea haustam aquam sorbet, tela jumentorum deficientium corporibus infixa conspexit. Miratusque confossa potius quam abacta esse semivivi * * *[4]

[hominis gemitum percipit. Itaque more ingenii humani cupidus visendi, quid rei vehiculo isto conderetur, dimotis pellibus, quibus obtectum erat, Dareum multis vulneribus confossum repperit. Regius enim cultus, et aureae catenae, quis a parricidis vinctus fuerat, dubitationem eximebant. Non erat expers Graeci sermonis Dareus; gratiasque agebat diis, qui post tanta mala, tamque gravia, hoc tamen indulsissent solatii, ne omino in solitudine extremum spiritum effunderet. Itaque te, inquit, quisquis es mortalium, per communem hominum sortem, a qua nec maximos regum exemptos esse praesenti spectaculo moneris, rogo quaesoque, ut haec ad Alexandrum mandata mea perferas: nihil eorum, quae longe tristissima perpessus sum, ne hunc quidem incomparabilis calamitatis exitum, ita gravem mihi accidisse, ut hoc unum, quod post tanta in me meosque merita adversus clementissimum victorem inimico vivendum fuit, et nunc ingrato moriendum est. Sed si qua postremis miserorum votis apud deos vis est, et cum ipso spiritu profusas preces mitius aliquod numen exaudit; ille quidem sospes et incolumis, longeque supra contagium meae sortis et invidiam fortunae positus, in solio Cyri gloriosam aetatem exigat: suaeque virtutis memor, eum matri liberisque meis locum apud se esse patiatur, quem illi fide et obsequio

[1] 'All (every one for himself), whenever they seized a chariot, examined it carefully.' The subjunctive *prenderent* (a contracted form for *prehenderent*) expresses a repeated action. See Zumpt, § 569.

[2] 'After they had wandered out of the road for four stadia.' *Error aliquem defert*, or *errore aliquis defertur*, when he is carried by a mistaken idea out of his true course.

[3] Supply *locorum*, 'those acquainted with the district.'

[4] The end of the Fifth Book and the beginning of the Sixth are lost. Freinsheim, a scholar of the seventeenth century, attempted to supply the deficiency from other historians in the manner above given.

meruerint. At parricidas promptum exitium consequatur, quod Alexander irrogabit, si non misericordia infelicis hostis, saltem odio facinorum, et ne impunita in aliorum etiam regum suumque ipsius exitium erumpant. Post haec, cum siti angeretur, allata per Polystratum aqua recreatus, Ergo, ait, hanc etiam tantis calamitatibus extremam accedere oportuit, ut bene merito gratiam referre non possim: at referet Alexander; Alexandro vero dii. Dextram deinde protendit, eamque Alexandro, fidei regiae pignus, ferri jubens, apprehensa Polystrati manu animam efflavit. Alexander an spiranti adhuc supervenerit, incertum est: illud constat, miserabili regis opulentissimi exitu comperto, copiosas lacrimas profudisse, statimque chlamyde sibi detracta corpus operuisse, et magno cum honore ad suos deferri jussisse, ut regio Persarum more curatum monumentis majorum inferretur. Ingratitudinem hominum, a quis pro summis beneficiis crudele exitium Dareus pertulit, quamquam suopte ingenio horrendam et exsecrabilem, insigniore ad posteritatem infamia damnavit canis cujusdam mira fides, qui ab omnibus familiaribus derelicto solus adfuit, et quam in vivum prae se tulit benevolentiam, morienti quoque constanter praestitit. Hunc vitae finem sortitus est ille, quem modo contumelia affici putabant, nisi regem regum, et deorum consanguineum salutarent: magnoque iterum experimento approbatum est, neminem magis patere fortunae, quam qui pluribus ejusdem blanditiis irretitus, jugum illius tota cervice receperit.]



Silver Daric — Actual size.

LIBER VI.

The author relates the events which had occurred in Europe during Alexander's last campaign against Darius. Agis, king of Sparta, had placed himself in the front of a new rising of the Greek states against the Macedonian supremacy. Antipater, Alexander's regent in Macedonia, gives him battle near Megalopolis in Arcadia.

(1) Agis has forced back the Macedonians; but they renew the combat. Agis is wounded, and carried to the rear. The Lacedaemonians still maintain the fight. (2) At last they retreat, and gradually flee. Agis is overtaken by the Macedonians, orders himself to be set down, and fights till he dies. Loss on both sides. (3) The spirit of revolt throughout Greece is entirely crushed by this defeat; peace is renewed; the punishment of Sparta is left to the decision of Alexander himself. (4) Alexander, to refresh himself after his fatigues, gives himself up to debauchery and the loose manners of Persia, by which he disgusts his soldiers. (5) His licentious conduct, however, does not lead him to treat his noble captives disrespectfully; he conducts himself towards them in a manner suitable to their rank. He bestows upon the soldiers a largess out of the booty. (6) Whilst he is spending a considerable time in Hecatompylos, the capital of Parthia, a rumour suddenly arises amongst the soldiers that he has resolved to return home. They prepare themselves with alacrity for the expected march. The king, astonished and alarmed at this, intreats the aid of his captains, and delivers an oration to the army, (7, 8, 9) in which he represents to the soldiers the necessity of his remaining in Asia for some time longer, in order to accustom the conquered to the new government; the fact that all which they had already gained would be lost, unless they completed the subjugation of Persia; and especially the immediate duty — a light but honourable one — of punishing Bessus. (10) The soldiers submit entirely to Alexander's guidance. He marches towards Hyrcania, and encamps in a valley on the river Ziobetis. (11) There he receives a letter from Nabarzanes, endeavouring to justify his conduct towards Darius, and asking for a safe conduct to the Macedonian camp. This is granted him. (12) Alexander advances into Hyrcania. The situation of the country on the Caspian Sea is described. (13) He continues his march, and receives the submission of Phrataphernes and Phradates. (14) Artabazus, with the remnant of the Greeks in the Persian

service, comes likewise, and is honourably received. (15) Among the Greek troops there are some ambassadors from Greek states to Darius. (16) Alexander undertakes an expedition against the Mardi, who, driven out of the open country, take up an inaccessible position in the interior. (17) Bucephalus, Alexander's famous horse, falls into their hands, but is given up in consequence of the king's terrible threats. The Mardi themselves at last submit to Alexander's perseverance. (18) The king returns to the capital of Hyrcania, and receives the submission of Nabarzanes. (19) He receives a visit from Thalestris, queen of the Amazons; after which he returns to Parthia. (20) Here he becomes still more addicted to Persian manners. (21) The Macedonians murmur. Alexander, in order to check their discontent by active employment, opens a campaign against Bessus, previously burning all the superfluous baggage. (22) Nicanor, Parmenio's son, dies on the march. Alexander thinks it advisable to go first against Satibarzanes, the revolted satrap of the Arii. Satibarzanes flees to Bessus, leaving, however, a great number of Arii in a strong position, (23) which is reduced by fire. (24) Artacacna, the capital of Ariana, is forced to submit. The army is increased by a supplement, and Alexander marches to Drangiana. (25) A conspiracy against the king's life comes to light, of the discovery of which Curtius gives a very minute account. Dimnus first initiates his beloved Nicomachus into the secret of the conspiracy. (26) Nicomachus tells his brother Cebalinus, who requests Philotas to make known the matter to the king. Philotas promises to do so, but does not; whereupon Cebalinus goes to Metron, who immediately makes Alexander acquainted with the story. (27) Alexander examines Cebalinus, and discovers the suspicious conduct of Philotas. Dimnus being sent for, kills himself. (28) Philotas clears himself for the time. (29) Alexander holds a council, in which Craterus earnestly recommends the apprehension of Philotas. (30) The others also advise a strict examination. (31) Philotas is surprised during the night, and taken into custody. (32) In an assembly of the soldiers, the king bewails the conspiracy. (33, 34) He brings forward the evidence, and presses for condemnation. (35) Philotas is led in. Amyntas excites the soldiers against him. (36) Coenus, too, speaks against him. He himself is at a loss for words, and is forced to decline speaking in the Macedonian tongue. (37–40) The defence of Philotas. (41) One Bolon excites the indignation of the assembly at Philotas, by recalling to their recollections his proud and overbearing conduct. The prisoner is condemned to death. (42) At the demand of the king's councillors, Philotas is put to the torture. (43) When under torture, he confesses that a design had long been in existence of killing Alexander; that by the advice of Parmenio, it had been put off till the complete subjugation of Darius, but had by no means been laid aside. (44) On the following day, Philotas, in an assembly of the soldiers, acknowledges his confession, and convicts, in addition, the lying Demetrius and hitherto unsuspected

Calis. Thus the whole examination takes a turn favourable to the king's honour.

SUPPLEMENTUM FREINSHEMII.

[Dum ea per Asiam gerentur, ne in Graecia quidem Macedoniaque tranquillae res fuere. Regnabat apud Lacedaemonios Agis Archidami filius, qui Tarentinis opem ferens ceciderat, eodem die quo Philippus Athenienses ad Chaeroneam vicit. Is Alexandri per virtutem aemulus, cives suos stimulabat, ne Graeciam servitute Macedonum diutius premi paterentur; nisi in tempore providerent, idem jugum ad ipsos transiturum esse. Annitendum igitur, dum aliquae adhuc Persis ad resistendum vires essent: illis oppressis, adversus immanem potentiam frustra avitae libertatis memores futuros. Sic instinctis animis, occasionem belli ex commodo coeptandi circumspiciebant. Igitur felicitate Memnonis invitati, consilia cum ipso miscere aggressi sunt; et postquam ille rerum laetarum initia intempestiva morte destituit, nihilo remissius agebant. Sed ad Pharnabazum et Autophradaten profectus Agis, triginta argenti talenta, decemque triremes impetravit, quas Agesilao fratri misit, ut in Cretam navigaret, cujus insulae cultores inter Lacedaemonios et Macedonas diversis studiis distrahebantur. Legati quoque ad Dareum missi sunt, qui in usum belli ampliorem vim pecuniae pluresque naves peterent. Atque haec eorum coepta clades ad Issum (nam ea intervenerat) adeo non interpellavit, ut etiam adjuverit. Quippe fugientem insecutus Alexander in longinqua loca magis magisque rapiebatur; et ex ipso proelio mercenariorum ingens multitudo in Graeciam fuga penetraverat: quorum octo milia Persica pecunia conduxit agis, eorumque opera plerasque Cretensium urbes recepit. Cum deinceps Menon, in Thraciam ab Alexandro missus, barbaros ad defectionem impulisset, adque eam comprimendam Antipater exercitum ex Macedonia in Thraciam duxisset, opportunitate temporis strenue usi Lacedaemonii totam Peloponnesum, paucis urbibus exceptis, in partes traxerunt, confectoque exercitu viginti milium peditum, cum equitibus bis mille, Agidi summam imperii detulerunt. Antipater ea re comperta bellum in Thracia, quibus potest condicionibus, componit; raptimque in Graeciam regressus, ab amicis sociisque civitatibus auxilia cogit. Quibus convenientibus, ad quadraginta pugnatorum milia recensuit. Advenerat et ex Peloponneso valida manus; sed quia dubiam ipsorum fidem resciverat, dissimulata suspicione gratias egit, quod ad defendendam adversus Lacedaemonios Alexandri dignitatem affuissent: scripturum se id regi, gratiam in tempore relaturo. In praesens nihil opus esse majoribus copiis: itaque domos redirent, foederis necessitate expleta. Nuntios deinde ad Alexandrum mittit, de motu Graeciae certiorem facturos. Atque illi regem apud Bactra demum consecuti sunt; cum interim Antipatri victoria, et nece Agidis in Arcadia transactum esset. Sane jam pridem tumultu Lacedaemoniorum cognito, quantum tot terrarum spatiis discretus potuit, providerat; Amphoterum cum Cypriis et Phoeniciis navibus in Peloponnesum navigare, Meneten tria milia talentum ad mare deferre jusserat, ut

ex propinquo pecuniam Antipatro subministraret, quanta illum indigere cognovisset. Probe enim perspexerat, quanti ad omnia momenti motus istius inclinatio futura esset, quamquam deinceps accepto victoriae nuntio suis operibus id discrimen comparens, murium eam pugnam fuisse cavillatus est. Ceterum principia ejus belli haud improspera Lacedaemoniis fuere. Juxta Corrhagum Macedoniae castellum cum Antipatri militibus congressi victores extiterant: et rei bene gestae fama etiam qui suspensis mentibus fortunam spectaverant, in societatem eorum pertracti sunt. Una ex Eleis Achaeisque urbibus Pellene foedus aspernabatur; et in Arcadia Megalopolis, fida Macedonibus ob Philippi memoriam, a quo beneficiis affecta fuerat. Sed haec arte circumsessa haud procul deditione aberat, nisi tandem Antipater subvenisset. Is postquam castra castris contulit, seque numero militum alioque apparatu superiorem conspexit, quamprimum de summa rerum proelio contendere statuit: neque Lacedaemonii detrectavere certamen. Ita commissa est pugna, quae rem Spartanam majorem in modum afflixit. Cum enim angustiis locorum, in quibus pugnabatur, confisi, ubi hosti nullum multitudinis usum futurum credebant, animose congressi essent, neque Macedones impigre resisterent, multum sanguinis fusum est. Sed postquam Antipater integram subinde manum laborantibus suis subsidio mittebat, impulsa Lacedaemoniorum acies gradum paulisper retulit. Quod conspicatus Agis, cum cohorte regia, quae ex fortissimis constabat, se in medium]

1. * * * pugnae discrimen immisit,[1] obtruncatisque qui promptius resistebant, magnam partem hostium propulit. Coeperant fugere victores, et donec avidius sequentes in planum deduxere, inulti cadebant: sed ut primum locus, in quo stare possent, fuit, aequis viribus dimicatum est. Inter omnes tamen Lacadaemonios rex eminebat, non armorum modo et corporis specie, sed etiam magnitudine animi, quo uno vinci non potuit. Undiquo nunc comminus, nunc eminus[2] petebatur, diuque arma circumferens, alia tela clypeo excipiebat, corpore[3] alia vitabat: donec hasta femina per-

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[1] The beginning of the sixth book is lost. Curtius, as he intimated at the commencement of the fifth, had narrated here all the events of importance which occurred in Europe from the time of the battle at Arbela till the death of Darius. He has been giving an account of the war which, in the year B.C. 331, Agis, king of Sparta, in conjunction with several of the Peloponnesian states, undertook against the Macedonian government (Antipater, Alexander's viceroy). The first chapter, as we have it, commences in the middle of the description of the battle fought near Megalopolis in Arcadia, in which Agis was defeated and slain. The subject of *immisit* is *Agis*, object *se*.

[2] See note at iii. 26.

[3] 'By his body;' that is, 'by a movement of his body.'

fossa, plurimo sanguine effuso, destituere pugnantem.[1] Ergo clypeo suo exceptum[2] armigeri raptim in castra referebant, jactationem vulnerum haud facile tolerantem. Non tamen omisere Lacedaemonii pugnam, et ut primum sibi quam hosti aequiorem locum capere potuerunt, densatis ordinibus effuse fluentem in se aciem excepere. Non aliud discrimen vehementius fuisse memoriae proditum est. Duarum nobilissimarum bello gentium exercitus pari Marte pugnabant. Lacedaemonii vetera, Macedones praesentia decora intuebantur: illi pro libertate, hi pro dominatione pugnabant: Lacedaemoniis dux, Macedonibus locus deerat.[3] Diei quoque unius tam multiplex casus modo spem, modo metum utriusque partis augebat, velut de industria inter fortissimos viros certamen aequante fortuna. Ceterum angustiae loci, in quo haeserat pugna, non patiebantur totis ingredi viribus: expectabant ergo plures quam inierant proelium, et qui extra teli jactum erant clamore invicem suos accendebant.

2. Tandem Laconum acies languescere,[4] lubrica arma sudore vix sustinens, pedem deinde referre coepit et urgente hoste apertius fugere. Insequebatur dissipatos victor, et emensus cursu omne spatium, quod acies Laconum obtinuerat, ipsum Agin persequebatur. Ille, ut fugam suorum et proximos hostium conspexit, deponi se jussit: expertusque membra, an impetum animi sequi possent, postquam deficere[5] sensit, poplitibus semet excepit,[6] galeaque strenue sumpta, clypeo protegens corpus, hastam dextra vibrabat, ultro vocans hostem, si quis jacenti spolia demere auderet. Nec quisquam fuit, qui sustineret comminus congredi. Procul missilibus appetebatur, ea ipsa in hostem retorquens, donec lancea nudo pectori infixa est: qua ex vulnere evolsa,[7] inclinatum ac deficiens caput clypeo paulisper excepit, deinde linquente spiritu pariter ac sanguine, moribundus in arma

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[1] 'His thighs deserted the warrior' (see note iv. 34); that is, 'his limbs refused him support.' As to *femina*, a more common form than *femora*, see note on iii. 30.

[2] He was laid upon his shield, which was then raised to the shoulders of those who were to bear him.

[3] 'The Macedonians had not a favourable position;' that is, 'they had no room to extend their line, and take advantage of their superiority in numbers.'

[4] An historical infinitive, the force of which is maintained in the following clause by the *coepit*.

[5] 'To become weak or powerless.'

[6] 'He sank upon his knees.'

[7] In early Latin the letter *v* was followed by *o* in those places where latterly there stood *u;* and this form of orthography was sometimes retained by those authors who affected archaisms.

procubuit. Cecidere Lacedaemoniorum V milia et CCC, ex Macedonibus haud amplius mille: ceterum vix quisquam nisi saucius revertit in castra.

3. Haec victoria non Spartam modo sociosque ejus, sed etiam omnes, qui fortunam belli spectaverant, fregit. Nec fallebat Antipatrum,[1] dissentire ab animis gratulantium vultus; sed bellum finire cupienti opus erat decipi.[2] Et quamquam fortuna rerum placebat, invidiam tamen, quia majores res erant, quam quas praefecti modus caperet,[3] metuebat. Quippe Alexander hostes vinci voluerat, Antipatrum vicisse, ne tacitus quidem indignabatur, suae demptum gloriae existimans, quicquid cessisset alienae.[4] Itaque Antipater, qui probe nosset spiritus ejus, non est ausus ipse agere arbitria victoriae,[5] sed concilium Graecorum, quid fieri placeret, consuluit. A quo Lacedaemonii, nihil aliud quam ut oratores mittere ad regem liceret, Tegeatae veniam defectionis praeter auctores impetraverunt. Megalepolitanis,[6] quorum urbs obsessa erat a defectionis sociis, Achaei et Elei CXX talenta dare jussi sunt. Hic fuit exitus belli, quod repente ortum, prius tamen finitum est, quam Dareum Alexander apud Arbela superaret.

4. Sed ut primum instantibus curis laxatus est animus, militarium rerum quam quietis otiique patientior,[7] excepere eum voluptates, et quem arma Persarum non fregerant, vitia vicerunt: intempestiva[8] convivia, et perpotandi pervigilandique insana dulcedo, ludique, et greges pellicum, omnia in externum lapsa morem. Quem aemulatus quasi potiorem suo, ita popularium animos oculosque pariter offendit, ut a plerisque amicorum pro hoste haberetur. Tenaces quippe disciplinae suae, solitosque parco ac parabili victu ad implenda naturae desideria defungi,[9] in peregrina et devictarum gen-

[1] 'It did not escape Antipater.'

[2] 'There was need for him to be deceived;' that is, he was forced to act as if he placed trust in their professions.

[3] For the subjunctive with *quam qui*, see *Gram.* § 360, note 1. *Modus*, 'subaltern rank.'

[4] 'Whatever had fallen to, or become the possession of, the glory of another.'

[5] 'To settle the judicial decisions of the victory.' *Arbiter* is equivalent to *judex*, *arbitrium* to *judicium; agere* the general expression for settling a business.

[6] The city was called either Μεγάλη πόλις or Μεγαλόπολις.

[7] For *patiens* governing the genitive, see *Gram.* § 277, 1.

[8] 'Banquets extending far into the night;' into the *nox intempesta*.

[9] *Defungi* is properly 'to finish and get quit of a piece of business.' It is here applied to eating and drinking, and is a very vigorous word to convey the idea of satisfying hunger and no more: 'to satisfy themselves with frugal and easily-cooked food, to appease the wants of nature.'

tium mala impulerat. Hinc saepius comparatae in caput ejus insidiae, secessio militum, et liberior inter mutuas querelas dolor, ipsius deinde nunc ira, nunc suspiciones, quas excitabat inconsultus pavor, ceteraque his similia, quae deinde dicentur.[1]

5. Igitur cum intempestivis conviviis dies pariter noctesque consumeret, satietatem epularum ludis interpellabat, non contentus artificum, quos e Graecia exciverat, turba: quippe captivae jubebantur suo ritu canere, inconditum et abhorrens peregrinis auribus carmen.[2] Inter quas unam rex ipse conspexit maestiorem quam ceteras, et producentibus eam verecunde reluctantem. Excellens erat forma, et formam pudor honestabat: dejectis in terram oculis, et, quantum licebat, ore velato, suspicionem praebuit regi, nobiliorem esse, quam ut inter conviviales ludos[3] deberet, ostendi. Ergo interrogata, quaenam esset? neptim[4] se Ochi, qui nuper regnasset in Persis, filio ejus genitam esse, respondit; uxorem Hystaspis fuisse. Propinquus hic Darei fuerat, magni et ipse exercitus praetor. Adhuc in animo regis tenues reliquiae pristini moris haerebant. Itaque fortunam regia stirpe genitae et tam celebre nomen reveritus, non dimiti modo captivam, sed etiam restitui ei suas opes jussit, virum quoque requiri, ut reperto conjugem redderet. Postero autem die praecepit Hephaestioni, ut omnes captivos in regiam juberet adduci. Ibi singulorum nobilitate spectata, secrevit a vulgo, quorum eminebat genus. Mille hi fuerunt: inter quos repertus est Oxathres, Darei frater, non illius fortuna, quam indole animi sui clarior. Sex et viginti milia talentum proxima praeda redacta erant: quis e[5] duodecim milia in congiarium mili-

[1] Curtius attributes the discontent of the Macedonians with Alexander to the alteration of his manners. This does not, however, satisfactorily account for the state of matters. There was fault on both sides: on Alexander's, insatiable ambition, which demanded of his followers unheard-of exertions; and on the part of the Macedonians, a narrowness of mind, which could not grasp the high designs that their king had formed, of reconciling Greece and Asia, and of founding an empire which should be co-extensive with the globe. Had their ideas been followed out, he would have returned home, laden with the booty of Asia, and have been, as before, merely king of Macedonia.

[2] 'A song, irregular, and ill-suited for foreign ears.' *Abhorrere* is usually construed with *ab*, very rarely with the mere ablative; in Livy, ii. 14, with the dative. It may be doubtful, therefore, what case *auribus* is. A passage in vi. 25, *animum tanto facinore procul abhorrentem*, leads us to consider it as the ablative.

[3] That is, to amuse a company of bacchanals.

[4] Usually *neptem*. See Zumpt, § 62, *c*, note.

[5] For *e quibus;* a collocation unusual in prose. See Zumpt, § 324

tum absumpta sunt. Par huic pecuniae summa custodum fraude subtracta est. Oxydates erat nobilis Perses, qui a Dareo capitali supplicio destinatus, cohibebatur in vinculis; huic liberato satrapeam Mediae attribuit: fratremque Darei recepit in cohortem amicorum, omni vetustae claritatis honore servato.

6. Hinc in Parthienen perventum est tunc ignobilem gentem, nunc caput omnium, qui post Euphraten et Tigrim amnes siti, rubro mari terminantur.[1] Scythae regionem campestrem ac fertilem occupaverunt,[2] graves adhuc accolae. Sedes habent et in Europa, et in Asia: qui super Bosporum colunt,[3] adscribuntur Asiae; at qui in Europa sunt, a laevo Thraciae latere[4] ad Borysthenem, atque inde ad Tanaim, alium amnen, recta plaga attinent. Tanais Europam et Asiam medius interfluit. Nec dubitatur, quin Scythae, qui Parthos condidere, non a Bosporo, sed ex Europae regione penetraverint. Urbs erat ea tempestate clara Hecatompylos, condita a Graecis:[5] ibi stativa rex habuit, commeatibus undique advectis. Itaque rumor, otiosi militis vitium, sine auctore percrebruit, regem contentum rebus, quas gessisset, in Macedoniam protinus redire statuisse. Discurrunt lymphatis similes in tabernacula, et itineri sarcinas aptant: signum datum crederes,[6] ut vasa colligerent.[7] Totis castris tumultus hinc contubernales suos requirentium, hinc onerantium plaustra, perfertur ad regem. Fecerant fidem rumori temere vulgato Graeci milites, redire jussi domos, quorum equitibus singulis denarium sena milia data.[8] Ipsis quoque

[1] That is, as far as India, to the Indian Ocean, which was called *mare Erythraeum* (*rubrum*).

[2] The meaning is: the present Parthians are Scythians, who emigrated from their own country, and occupied this flat and fertile land. Compare iv. 54.

[3] That is, on the east of the Bosporus Cimmerius, the strait which connects the Pontus Euxinus (the Black Sea) with the Palus Maeotis (the Sea of Azov). The strait between the Pontus Euxinus and the Propontis (the Sea of Marmora) was called Bosporus Thracius. During the Mithridatic wars, the Romans became very familiar with the former of these, and when the *Bosporus* simply was named, the Cimmerian was generally understood.

[4] The left side of Thrace is the north, because that country was conceived as looking towards the Black Sea. *Borysthenes*, the Dneiper; *Tanais*, the Don.

[5] This is not at all probable. Only the name has been given to the city by the Greeks.

[6] 'One would have believed.' See *Gram.* § 347, note.

[7] A military phrase, 'to collect the baggage,' 'to pack up for a march.'

[8] A Roman *denarius* is very nearly equivalent to a Greek *drachma* (in English money sevenpence three farthings). Twenty-five

finem militiae adesse credebant. Haud secus quam par erat territus, qui Indos atque ultima Orientis peragrare statuisset,[1] praefectos copiarum in praetorium contrahit: obortisque lacrimis, ex medio gloriae spatio revocari se, victi magis quam victoris fortunam in patriam relaturum conquestus est, nec sibi ignaviam militum obstare, sed deorum invidiam, qui fortissimis viris subitum patriae desiderium admovissent, paulo post in eandem cum majore laude famaque redituris.[2] Tum vero pro se quisque operam suam offerre, difficillima quaeque poscere, polliceri militum quoque obsequium, si animos eorum leni et apta oratione permulcere voluisset. Nunquam infractos et abjectos recessisse, quotiens ipsius alacritatem et tanti animi spiritus[3] haurire potuissent. Ita se facturum esse respondit: illi modo vulgi aures praepararent sibi. Satisque omnibus, quae in rem videbantur esse, compositis, vocari ad contionem exercitum jussit, apud quem talem orationem habuit:

7. Magnitudinem rerum, quas gessimus, milites, intuentibus vobis, minime mirum est, et desiderium quietis et satietatem gloriae occurrere. Ut omittam Illyrios, Triballos, Boeotiam, Thraciam, Spartam, Achaeos, Peloponnesum, quorum alia ductu meo, alia imperio auspicioque perdomui, ecce orsum bellum ab Hellesponto:[4] Ionas, Aeolidem servitio barbariae impotentis[5] exemimus; Cariam, Lydiam, Cappadociam, Phrygiam, Paphlagoniam, Pamphyliam, Pisidas, Ciliciam, Syriam, Phoenicen, Armeniam, Persidem, Medos, Parthienen habemus in potestate: plures provincias complexus sum, quam alii urbes ceperunt, et nescio an enumeranti mihi quaedam ipsarum rerum multitudo subduxerit. Itaque si crederem, satis certam esse possessionem terrarum, quas tanta velocitate domuimus, ego vero,[6] milites, ad penates meos, ad parentem sororesque, et ceteros cives, vel retinentibus vobis,[7] erumperem, ut ubi potissimum parta vobiscum laude et gloria fruerer,

drachmae make a *stater aureus*, or gold piece; one hundred *drachmae* a *mina;* sixty *minae*, or six thousand *drachmae*, a talent.

[1] 'Since he had resolved.' See *Gram*, § 360, 6.

[2] 'Although (if they did not give way to this sudden longing) they would soon return,' &c.

[3] Literally, 'the respiration,' 'the breath;' figuratively, as here, 'enthusiasm,' 'excitement.'

[4] 'Let us look only at the present war, how it began from the Hellespont.' *Ecce* calls attention to something.

[5] 'The despotic government of the barbarians.' *Impotens* (supply *sui*), one who cannot control his own passions; here opposed to an *imperium moderatum et legitimum*. Observe the names of countries and of nations used indiscriminately. See Zumpt, § 680.

[6] As to *vero* in this position, see Zumpt, § 716.

[7] 'Even if you endeavoured to detain me.'

ubi nos uberrima victoriae praemia expectant, liberum,[1] conjugum, parentumque laetitia, pax, quies, rerum per virtutem partarum secura possessio. Sed in novo, et (si verum fateri volumus) precario imperio,[2] adhuc jugum ejus rigida cervice subeuntibus barbaris, tempore, milites, opus est, dum mitioribus ingeniis imbuuntur, et efferatos mollior consuetudo permulcet.[3] Fruges quoque maturitatem statuto tempore[4] expectant: adeo etiam illa sensus omnis expertia tamen sua lege mitescunt. Quid? creditis tot gentes, alterius imperio ac nomine assuetas,[5] non sacris, non moribus, non commercio linguae nobiscum cohaerentes, eodem proelio domitas esse, quo victae sunt? Vestris armis continentur, non suis moribus, et qui praesentes metuunt, in absentia hostes erunt. Cum feris bestiis res est, quas captas et inclusas, quia ipsarum natura non potest, longior dies mitigat.

8. Et adhuc sic ago, tanquam omnia subacta sint armis, quae fuerunt in dicione Darei. Hyrcaniam Nabarzanes occupavit; Bactra non possidet solum parricida Bessus, sed etiam minatur; Sogdiani, Dahae, Massagetae, Sacae, Indi sui juris sunt. Omnes hi, simul terga nostra viderint, sequentur.[6] Illi enim ejusdem nationis sunt, nos alienigenae et externi. Suis quisque autem placidius paret, etiam cum is praeest qui magis timeri potest. Proinde aut quae cepimus omittenda sunt, aut quae non habemus occupanda. Sicut in corporibus aegris, milites, nihil quod nociturum est, medici relinquunt, sic nos, quicquid obstat imperio, recidamus. Parva saepe scintilla contempta magnum excitavit incendium. Nihil tuto in hoste despicitur: quem spreveris, valentiorem negligentia facias. Ne Dareus quidem hereditarium Persarum accepit imperium, sed in sedem Cyri, beneficio Bagoae castrati hominis, admissus: ne vos magno labore credatis[7] Bessum vacuum regnum occupaturum.

9. Nos vero peccavimus, milites, si Dareum ob hoc vicimus, ut servo ejus traderemus imperium: qui ultimum ausus scelus, regem suum, etiam externae opis egentem, certe cui nos victores pepercissemus, quasi captivum in vinculis habuit, ad ultimum, ne a nobis conservari posset, oc-

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[1] For *liberorum*. See *Gram.* § 58, 5.

[2] A dominion which, as it were, we hold only by favour, or on sufferance; that is, which is very unstable and insecure.

[3] Subjunctives, *imbuantur* and *permulceat*, would have been more appropriate. See *Gram.* § 356.

[4] 'At the appointed or regular time.'

[5] For this construction, see iii. 23, v. 33.

[6] For *insequentur* or *persequentur*.

[7] Equivalent to *nedum vos credatis*, 'not to speak of your believing.' See Zumpt, § 573.

cidit. Hunc vos regnare patiemini. quem equidem cruci affixum videre festino, omnibus regibus gentibusque et fidei, quam violavit, meritas poenas solventem. At hercule, si mox eundem Graecorum urbes aut Hellespontum[1] vastare nuntiatum erit vobis, quo dolore afficiemini, Bessum praemia vestrae occupavisse victoriae? Tunc ad repetendas res festinabitis, tunc arma capietis. Quanto[2] autem praestat, territum adhuc et vix mentis suae compotem opprimere? Quatridui nobis iter superest, qui tot proculcavimus nives, tot amnes superavimus, tot montium juga transcucurrimus. Non mare illud, quod exaestuans iter fluctibus occupat, euntes nos moratur,[3] non Ciliciae fauces et angustiae includunt: plana omnia et prona sunt. In ipso limine victoriae stamus. Pauci nobis fugitivi et domini sui interfectores supersunt. Egregium mehercule opus, et inter prima[4] gloriae vestrae numerandum, posteritati famaeque tradetis, Darei quoque hostis, finito post mortem illius odio, parricidas esse vos ultos, neminem impium effugisse vestras manus. Hoc perpetrato, quanto creditis Persas obsequentiores fore, cum intellexerint vos pia bella suscipere, et Bessi sceleri, non nomini suo, irasci?

10. Summa militum alacritate, jubentium, quocunque vellet, ducere, oratio excepta est. Nec rex moratus impetum: tertioque per Parthienen die ad fines Hyrcaniae[5] penetrat, Cratero relicto cum iis copiis, quibus praeerat, et ea manu, quam Amyntas ducebat, additis sexcentis equitibus et totidem sagittariis, ut ab incursione barbarorum Parthienen tueretur. Erigyium impedimenta, modico praesidio dato, campestri itinere ducere jubet. Ipse cum phalange et equitatu CL stadia emensus, castra in valle, qua Hyrcaniam adeunt,[6] communit. Nemus praealtis densisque arboribus umbrosum est, pingue vallis solum rigantibus aquis, quae ex petris imminentibus manant. Ex ipsis radicibus montium Ziobetis amnis effunditur, qui tria fere stadia in longitudinem universus fluit, deinde saxo, quod alveolum interpellat, reper-

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[1] Properly applied to the strait, but here, as frequently, it is used as the name of the coasts adjoining.

[2] Or *quantum*. See Zumpt, § 488, note 2.

[3] He refers to the successful march along the coast to Pamphylia, as to which see v. 12.

[4] Literally, 'among the first parts of your glory:' that is, 'among your most illustrious deeds, your most glorious exploits.'

[5] A district on the Caspian or Hyrcanian Sea. It was not in the direct course of Alexander pushing on eastward, being situated to the north of Parthia.

[6] 'Through which lies the way to Hyrcania.'

cussus, duo itinera velut dispensatis aquis[1] aperit. Inde torrens,[2] et saxorum, per quae incurrit, asperitate violentior, terram praeceps subit. Per CCC stadia conditus[3] labitur: rursusque velut ex alio fonte conceptus editur, et novum alveum intendit,[4] priore sui parte spatiosior. Quippe in latitudinem decem et trium stadiorum diffunditur, rursusque angustioribus coercitus ripis iter cogit; tandem in alterum amnem cadit. Ridagno nomen est. Incolae affirmabant, quicunque demissi essent in cavernam, quae propior est fonti, rursus ubi aliud os amnis aperitur, existere.[5] Itaque Alexander duos,[6] qua subeunt aquae terram, praecipitari jubet, quorum corpora, ubi rursus erumpit, expulsa videre, qui missi erant, ut exciperent.

11. Quartum jam diem eodem loco quietem militi dederat, cum litteras Nabarzanis, qui Dareum cum Besso interceperat, accipit, quarum sententia haec erat: se Dareo non fuisse inimicum, immo etiam[7] quae credidisset utilia esse suasisse, et quia fidele consilium regi dedisset, prope occisum ab eo. Agitasse Dareum, custodiam corporis sui contra jus fasque peregrino militi tradere, damnata popularium fide, quam per ducentos et triginta annos[8] inviolatam regibus suis praestitissent. Se in praecipiti et lubrico stantem consilium a praesenti necessitate repetisse. Dareum quoque, cum occidisset Bagoan, hac excusatione satisfecisse popularibus, quod insidiantem sibi interemisset. Nihil esse miseris mortalibus spiritu carius. Amore ejus ad ultima esse propulsum. Sed ea magis esse secutum,[9] quam optasse. In communi calamitate suam quemque habere fortunam. Si venire se juberet, sine metu esse venturum. Non timere, ne fidem datam

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[1] *Dispensare* implies just or equal distribution.

[2] *Torrere* means 'to roast' or 'parch,' 'to be heated.' *Torrens*, which (just as *vehens* is sometimes used as the participle present of *vehere*, sometimes of *vehi*) may be the participle of *torreri*, is the standing term for a rapid, impetuous mountain stream. We use 'torrent' in the same sense.

[3] Underground.

[4] Just as *iter*, *viam intendere*, so also *alveum intendere*, 'to begin a new channel.'

[5] 'Appeared,' 'came to light.'

[6] No doubt criminals, men who had been condemned to death.

[7] 'Nay, that on the contrary he had even advised him.' See Zumpt, § 277.

[8] He reckons from the time of Cyrus the Great, who began to reign, according to the most accurate calculations, in the year 560 B. C.

[9] 'That he had rather been forced to do these things,' 'that he had acted as he had done from necessity rather than choice.' As to *sequi* used as passive to *trahere*, compare v. 15, *ad init.*

tantus rex violaret: deos a deo[1] falli non solere. Ceterum si, cui fidem daret, videretur indignus, multa exilia patere fugienti: patriam esse, ubicunque vir fortis sedem sibi elegerit. Nec dubitavit Alexander, fidem, quo Persae modo accipiebant, dare,[2] inviolatum, si venisset, fore.

12. Quadrato tamen agmine et composito ibat, speculatores subinde praemittens, qui explorarent loca. Levis armatura ducebat agmen, phalanx eam sequebatur, post pedites erant impedimenta. Et gens bellicosa et naturae situs[3] difficilis aditu curam regis intenderat. Namque perpetua valles[4] jacet, usque ad mare Caspium patens. Duo terrae ejus velut brachia excurrunt: media flexu modico sinum faciunt, lunae maxime similem, cum eminent cornua, nondum totum orbem sidere implente. Cercetae et Mosyni et Chalybes a laeva sunt, ab altera parte Leucosyri et Amazonum campi; et illos qua vergit ad Septentrionem, hos ad occasum conversa prospectat.[5] Mare Caspium, dulcius ceteris, ingentis magnitudinis serpentes alit; piscium in eo longe diversus ab aliis color est. Quidam Caspium, quidam Hyrcanium appellant: alii sunt, qui Maeotiam paludem in id cadere putent:[6] et argumentum afferunt, aquam, quo dulcior sit quam cetera maria, infuso paludis humore mitescere. A Septentrione ingens in litus mare incumbit;[7] longeque agit fluctus, et magna parte exaestuans stagnat. Idem alio coeli statu recipit in se fretum,[8] eodemque impetu, quo effusum est, relabens, terram naturae suae reddit. Et quidam credibere, non Caspium mare esse, sed ex India in

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[1] Flattery, insinuating that Alexander himself was a god.

[2] The mode in which the Persians pledged faith was by presenting the right hand, and when one of the parties was at a distance, the other sent him his hand *in effigie*.

[3] Equivalent to *situs naturalis*, 'natural situation.'

[4] Another form for *vallis*. See Zumpt, § 58.

[5] The tribes and places which he mentions are on the Black Sea, not the Caspian. He speaks as if Hyrcania lay on the coast of the Pontius, somewhere about Trapezus, using the terms 'right' and 'left;' that is, to one coming towards the land by sea. The maps of the ancients were no doubt very defective; but surely a mistake of the Black Sea for the Caspian must be attributed to Curtius's own particular ignorance.

[6] A glance at the map shows this idea to be false. Modern travellers confirm our author's statement, that the Caspian is not so salt as other seas.

[7] Under the influence of a strong north wind.

[8] The Caspian has no tides; but these appearances which Curtius describes are caused by the prevalence of different winds at particular seasons.

Hyrcaniam cadere, cujus[1] fastigium, ut supra dictum est, perpetua valle summittitur.

13. Hinc rex XX stadia processit semita propemodum invia, cui silva imminebat, torrentesque et eluvies iter morabantur. Nullo tamen hoste obvio, penetrat, tandemque ad ulteriora perventum est. Praeter alios commeatus, quorum tum copia regio abundabat, pomorum quoque ingens modus nascitur, et uberrimum gignendis uvis solum est. Frequens arbor faciem quercus habet, cujus folia multo melle tinguntur, sed nisi solis ortum incolae occupaverint, vel modico tepore sucus extinguitur.[2] XXX hinc stadia processerat, cum Phrataphernes ei occurrit, seque et eos, qui post Darei mortem profugerant, dedens: quibus benigne exceptis, ad oppidum Arvas pervenit. Hic ei Craterus et Erigyius occurrunt. Praefectum Tapyrorum[3] gentis Phradatem adduxerant. Hic quoque in fidem receptus multis exemplo fuit experiendi clementiam regis. Satrapen deinde Hyrcaniae dedit Manapin: exul hic regnante Ocho ad Philippum pervenerat: Tapyrorum quoque gentem Phradati reddidit.

14. Jamque ultima Hyrcaniae intraverat, cum Artabazus, quem Dareo fidissimum fuisse supra diximus, cum propinquis Darei ac suis liberis modicaque Graecorum militum manu occurrit. Dextram venienti obtulit rex: quippe et hospes Philippi fuerat, cum Ocho regnante exularet, et hospitii pignora in regem suum ad ultimum fides conservata vincebat. Comiter igitur exceptus, Tu quidem, inquit, rex, deos quaeso, perpetua felicitate floreas. Ego ceteris laetus, hoc uno torqueor, quod praecipiti senectute diu frui tua bonitate non possum. Nonagesimum et quintum annum agebat. Novem juvenes, omnes eadem matre geniti, patrem comitabantur:[4] hos Artabazus dexterae regis admovit, precatus ut tam diu viverent, donec utiles Alexandro essent. Rex pedibus iter plerumque faciebat: tunc admoveri sibi et Artabazo equos jussit, ne ipso ingrediente pedibus, senex equo vehi erubesceret.

15. Ut deinde castra sunt posita, Graecos, quos Artabazus adduxerat, convocari jubet: at illi, nisi fides Lacedaemoniis

[1] That is, *Hyrcaniae.* Hyrcania (now Masanderin) may be described as an extensive valley, covered with trees and verdure, which slopes down to the Caspian Sea.

[2] This statement is quite correct. The thickened sap is a kind of manna, and is used by the inhabitants for sugar.

[3] A tribe bordering upon the Hyrcanians, on the west.

[4] Pharnabazus, admiral of the Persian fleet (see iii. 6), and taken prisoner by the Macedonians (iv. 23), was a son of Artabazus. According to Arrian he escaped soon after his capture; but whether he was with his father or not, is nowhere stated.

quoque et Sinopensibus daretur,[1] respondent, se, quid agendum ipsis foret,[2] deliberaturos. Legati erant Lacedaemoniorum missi ad Dareum, quo victo applicuerant se Graecis mercede apud Persas militantibus. Rex, omissis sponsionum fideique pignoribus, venire eos jussit, fortunam quam ipse dedisset habituros. Diu cunctantes, plerisque consilia variantibus, tandem venturos se pollicentur. At Democrates Atheniensis, qui maxime Macedonum opibus semper obstiterat, desperata venia, gladio se transfigit. Ceteri, sicut constituerant, dicioni Alexandri ipsos se permittunt. Mille et D milites erant: praeter hos legati ad Dareum missi XC. In supplementum distributus miles, ceteri remissi domum, praeter Lacedaemonios, quos tradi in custodiam jussit.

16. Mardorum erat gens[3] confinis Hyrcaniae, cultu vitae aspera et latrociniis assueta. Haec sola nec legatos miserat, nec videbatur imperata factura. Itaque rex indignatus, si una gens posset efficere, ne invictus esset, impedimentis cum praesidio relictis, invicta manu comitante procedit. Noctu iter fecerat, et prima luce hostis in conspectu erat: tumultus magis quam proelium fuit. Deturbati ex collibus, quos occupaverant, barbari profugerunt: proximique vici ab incolis deserti capiuntur. Interiora regionis ejus haud sane adiri sine magna vexatione exercitus poterant. Juga montium praealtae silvae rupesque inviae saepiunt;[4] ea, quae plana sunt, novo munimenti genere impedierant[5] barbari. Arbores densae sunt de industria consitae, quarum teneros adhuc ramos manu flectunt, quos intortos rursus inserunt terrae: inde velut ex alia radice laetiores virent trunci.[6] Hos, qua natura fert, adolescere non sinunt: quippe alium alii quasi nexu conserunt,[7] qui ubi multa fronde vestiti sunt, operiunt terram. Itaque occulti ramorum velut laquei perpetua saepe iter cludunt.[8] Una ratio erat[9] caedendo aperire saltum, sed hoc quoque magni operis. Crebri namque nodi duraverant stipites, et in se implicati arborum rami, suspensis circulis

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[1] Namely, *eos inviolatos fore*,

[2] 'What they had to do,' 'what their course of action was to be.' They did not say directly that they were meditating an armed opposition to the king's will.

[3] See note v. 21.

[4] 'Surround,' 'shut in.' The spelling with *ae* is more correct than with *e*.

[5] 'Had rendered inaccessible.'

[6] These boughs take root, and become themselves main stems. *Laetus* indicates a strong luxuriant growth.

[7] 'They interweave, as it were, the one with the other.'

[8] A not unusual form for *claudunt;* as in the compounds.

[9] 'There was only one possible way,' &c. See *Gram.* § 373, note.

similes, lento vimine frustrabantur ictus. Incolae autem, ritu ferarum virgulta subire[1] soliti, tum quoque intraverant saltum, occultisque telis hostem lacessebant.

17. Ille venantium modo latibula scrutatus, plerosque confodit: ad ultimum circumire saltum milites jubet, ut si qua pateret, irrumperent. Sed ignotis locis plerique oberrabant, exceptique sunt quidam, inter quos equus regis: Bucephalam[2] vocabant: quem Alexander non eodem quo ceteras pecudes animo aestimabat. Namque ille nec in dorso insidere suo patiebatur alium, et regem, cum vellet ascendere, sponte genua submittens excipiebat, credebaturque sentire quem veheret. Majore ergo, quam decebat, ira simul ac dolere stimulatus, equum vestigari jubet, et per interpretem pronuntiari, ni reddidissent, neminem esse victurum. Hac denuntiatione territi, cum ceteris donis equum adducunt. Sed ne sic quidem mitigatus, caedi silvas jubet, aggestaque humo e montibus planitiem ramis impeditam exaggerari.[3] Jam aliquantum altitudinis[4] opus creverat, cum barbari, desperati[5] regionem, quam occupaverant, posse retineri, gentem suam dedidere. Rex, obsidibus acceptis, Phradati parere eos jussit.

18. Inde quinto die in stativa revertitur. Artabazum deinde, geminato honore,[6] quem Dareus habuerat ei, remittit domum. Jam ad urbem Hyrcaniae, in qua regia Darei fuit,[7] ventum erat. Ibi Nabarzanes accepta fide occurrit, dona ingentia ferens. Inter quae Bagoas erat, specie singulari spado, atque in ipso flore pueritiae, cui et Dareus assuetus fuerat, et mox Alexander assuevit: ejusque maxime precibus motus Nabarzani ignovit.

19. Erat, ut supra dictum est, Hyrcaniae finitima gens Amazonum, circa Thermodonta amnem Themiscyrae incolentium campos.[8] Reginam habebant Thalestrim, ombibus inter Caucasum montem et Phasin amnem imperitantem.

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[1] 'To creep under the bushes.'

[2] From the nominative *Buchephalas*. But the form *Bucephalus* also occurs.

[3] He ordered an eminence to be raised on the flat where the bushes were, so that he might put himself on a level with the barbarians.

[4] More commonly, *in altitudinem*.

[5] Used as if the verb were deponent: equivalent to *cum desperassent*.

[6] This probably means that his salary was doubled.

[7] Arrian calls it Zadracarta.

[8] As the river Thermodon and the district of Themiscyra are on the coast of the Pontus Euxinus, the tribe of the Amazons could certainly not be *Hyrcaniae finitima*. We have the same error here as has already been noticed in chap. 12. According to Justin, the queen of the Amazons made a journey of twenty-five days in order to pay this visit to Alexander. No credit can be reposed in our author in reference to her visit, because he merely repeats the gossip

Haec cupidine visendi regis accensa finibus regni sui excessit, et cum haud procul abesset, praemisit indicantes, venisse reginam adeundi ejus cognoscendique avidam. Protinus facta potestate veniendi, ceteris jussis subsistere, trecentis feminarum[1] comitata processit. Atque ut primum rex in conspectu fuit, equo ipsa desiluit duas lanceas dextera praeferens. Vestis non toto[2] Amazonum corpori obducitur: nam laeva pars ad pectus est nuda, cetera deinde velantur. Nec tamen sinus vestis, quem nodo colligunt, infra genua descendit. Altera papilla intacta servatur, qua muliebris sexus liberos alant, aduritur[3] dextera, ut arcus facilius intendant, et tela vibrent. Interrito vultu regem Thalestris intuebatur, habitum ejus haudquaquam rerum famae parem oculis perlustrans. Quippe omnibus barbaris in corporum majestate veneratio est,[4] magnorumque operum non alios capaces putant, quam quos eximia specie donare natura dignata est. Ceterum interrogata, num aliquid[5] petere vellet, haud dubitavit fateri, ad communicandos cum rege liberos se venisse: dignam, ex qua ipse regni generaret heredes. Feminini sexus se retenturam, marem redditruam patri. Alexander, an cum ipso militare vellet, interrogat: et illa, causata sine custode regnum reliquisse, petera perseverabat, ne se irritam spei[6] abire pateretur. Acrior ad Venerem feminae cupido, quam regis, ut paucos dies subsisteret, perpulit. XIII dies in obsequium[7] desiderii ejus absumpti sunt. Tum illa regnum suum, rex Parthienen petiverunt.

20. Hic vero palam cupididates suas solvit, continentiamque et moderationem, in altissima quaque fortuna[8] eminentia bona, in superbiam ac lasciviam vertit. Patrios mores disciplinamque Macedonum regum salubriter temperatam et civilem habitum[9] velut leviora magnitudine sua ducens, Per-

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of many Greek historians; whereas the whole story was considered by the most trustworthy biographers of Alexander as fabulous.

[1] The genitive is according to rule, though *feminis* would have been more usual. See *Gram.* § 275.

[2] For *toti;* rare. See *Gram.* § 58, note 3, and Zumpt, § 140.

[3] It is burned, in order to check the female feelings, and thus render the Amazons sterner warriors.

[4] Equivalent to *barbari corporis majestatem venerantur.*

[5] Usually *num quid.* See *Gram.* § 122, 5, note.

[6] 'Without the fulfilment of her hope.' See *Gram.* § 277, 2, note 1.

[7] 'Devoted to the gratification of her desire.' Equivalent to *ut obsequeretur ejus desiderio.*

[8] Literally, 'in every highest rank;' that is, the higher the rank, the more, &c. See Zumpt, § 710.

[9] 'Civil conduct.' A *habitus civilis* is the behaviour of a *civis* towards *cives*, as distinguished from that of a *dominus* to *mancipia* (slaves).

sicae regiae par deorum potentiae fastigium[1] aemulabatur. Jacere humi venerabundos ipsum,[2] paulatimque servilibus ministeriis tot victores gentium imbuere et captivis pares facere expetebat. Itaque purpureum diadema distinctum albo,[3] quale Dareus habuerat, capiti circumdedit, vestemque Persicam sumpsit, ne omen quidem veritus, quod a victoris insignibus in devicti transiret habitum. Et ille se quidem spolia Persarum gestare dicebat: sed cum illis quoque[4] mores induerat, superbiamque habitus animi insolentia sequebatur. Litteras quoque, quas in Europam mitteret, veteris anuli gemma obsignabat, his, quas in Asiam scriberet, Darei anulus imprimebatur; ut appareret, unum animum duorum non capere fortunam. Amicos vero et equites (hi namque[5] principes militum), aspernantes quidem sed recusare non ausos, Persicis ornaverat vestibus. Pellices CCC et LX, totidem quot Darei fuerant, regiam implebant, quas spadonum greges, et ipsi muliebria pati assueti, sequebantur.

21. Haec[6] luxu et peregrinis infecta moribus veteres Philippi milites, rudis natio ad voluptates, palam aversabantur, totisque castris unus omnium sensus ac sermo erat, plus amissum victoria, quam bello esse quaesitum. Tum maxime vinci ipsos, dedique alienis moribus et externis: tantae morae pretium[7] domos quasi in captivo habitu reversuros. Pudere jam sui. Regem, victis quam victoribus similiorem, ex Macedoniae imperatore Darei satrapen factum. Ille non ignarus et principes amicorum et exercitum graviter offendi, gratiam liberalitate donisque reparare temptabat. Sed, opinor, liberis pretium servitutis ingratum est. Igitur ne in seditionem res verteretur, otium interpellandum erat bello, cujus materia opportune alebatur.[8] Namque Bessus, veste regia sumpta, Artaxerxen appellari se jusserat, Scythasque et ceteros Tanais accolas contrahebat. Haec Satibarzanes nun-

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[1] 'Loftiness:' *fastigium* literally means the ridge of a house, and more particularly that triangular peak which was the peculiar form of the roof of a temple.

[2] The leading verb is *expetebat*, 'he desired; strove that.' The verbal adjectives in *bundus* properly do not govern any case; but such as are derived from transitive verbs are sometimes construed with the accusative. See *Gram.* § 145.

[3] 'Set off with white.'

[4] The *quoque* belongs to *mores*. The position ought therefore properly to have been *mores quoque*.

[5] Regarding the position of this conjunction, see Zumpt, § 345.

[6] 'These things;' that is, this disgraceful state of matters.

[7] In apposition to the infinitive *reversuros esse;* 'as the due reward for so long a delay.'

[8] 'An occasion of which seasonably offered itself.'

tiabat, quem receptum in fidem regioni, quam antea obtinuerat,[1] praefecit. Et cum grave spoliis apparatuque luxuriae agmen vix moveretur, suas primum, deinde totius exercitus sarcinas, exceptis admodum necessariis, conferri jussit in medium. Planities spatiosa erat, in quam vehicula onusta perduxerant. Expectantibus cunctis, quid deinde esset imperaturus, jumenta jussit abduci, suisque primum sarcinis face subdita, ceteras incendi praecepit.[2] Flagrabant exurentibus dominis, quae ut intacta ex urbibus hostium raperent, saepe flammas restinxerant, nullo sanguinis pretium audente deflere, cum regias opes idem ignis exureret. Brevis deinde oratio mitigavit dolorem, habilesque militiae et ad omnia parati laetabantur, sarcinarum potius, quam disciplinae, fecisse jacturam.[3] Igitur Bactrianam regionem petebant.

22. Sed Nicanor,[4] Parmenionis filius, subita morte correptus, magno desiderio sui affecerat cunctos. Rex, ante omnes maestus, cupiebat quidem subsistere funeri affuturus, sed penuria commeatuum festinare cogebat. Itaque Philotas cum duobus milibus et DC relictus, ut justa fratri persolveret: ipse contendit ad Bessum. Iter facienti ei litterae afferuntur a finitimis Satraparum, e quibus cognoscit, Bessum quidem hostili animo occurrere cum exercitu, ceterum Satibarzanem, quem satrapam Ariorum[5] ipse praefecisset, defecisse ab eo. Itaque quamquam Besso imminebat, tamen ad Satibarzanem opprimendum praeverti[6] optimum ratus, levem armaturam et equestres copias educit, totaque nocte itinere strenue facto, improvisus hosti supervenit. Cujus cognito adventu Satibarzanes cum II milibus equitum (nec plures subito contrahi poterant) Bactra perfugit, ceteri proximos montes occupaverunt. Praerupta rupes est, qua spectat Occidentem: eadem qua vergit ad Orientem leniore summissa fastigio, multis arboribus obsita, perennem habet fontem, ex quo largae aquae manant. Circuitus ejus XXX et II stadia comprehendit. In vertice herbidus campus. In hoc multitudinem imbellem considere jubent: ipsi, qua rupes *[7] erat, arborum truncos et saxa obmoliuntur. XIII milia armata erant. In

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[1] This, as we are told shortly afterwards, was Ariana.

[2] Construed like *jussit* in the preceding clause: otherwise we should have expected *ut*. See Zumpt, § 617.

[3] Namely, *se*. As to *jacturam facere*, see note on v. 26.

[4] He was the commander of the Hypaspists, or, as Curtius by anticipation calls them (see iv. 50), the Argyraspids.

[5] The usual construction would have been *Ariis*. But *praefecisset* is used as *instituisset*, 'whom he himself had appointed satrap of the Arii.'

[6] 'To turn aside beforehand.'

[7] Some word has dropped out, perhaps *declivis*.

quorum obsidione Cratero relicto, ipse Satibarzanem sequi festinat.

23. Et quia longius abesse eum cognoverat, ad expugnandos eos, qui edita montium[1] occupaverant, redit. Ac primo repurgari jubet, quicquid ingredi possent: deinde, ut occurrebant inviae cotes praeruptaeque rupes, irritus labor videbatur obstante natura. Ille, ut erat animi semper obluctantis difficultatibus,[2] cum et progredi arduum, et reverti periculosum esset, versabat se ad omnes cogitationes, aliud atque aliud, ita ut fieri solet, ubi prima quaeque damnamus, subjiciente animo. Haesitanti, quod ratio non potuit, fortuna consilium subministravit. Vehemens Favonius[3] erat, et multam materiam ceciderat miles, aditum per saxa molitus. Haec vapore torrida jam inarserat.[4] Ergo aggeri alias arbores jubet, et igni dari alimenta: celeriterque stipitibus cumulatis fastigium montis aequatum est.[5] Tunc undique ignis injectus[6] cuncta comprehendit. Flammam in ora hostium ventus ferebat, fumus ingens velut quadam nube absconderat coelum. Sonabant incendio silvae, atque ea quoque, quae non incenderat miles, concepto igne, proxima quaeque adurebantur.[7] Barbari suppliciorum ultimum, si qua intermoreretur ignis,[8] effugere temptabant, sed qua flamma dederat locum, hostis obstabat. Varia igitur caede consumpti sunt: alii in medio ignis;[9] alii petris praecipitavere se; quidem manibus hostium obtulerunt,[10] pauci semiustulati venere in potestatem.

24. Hinc ad Craterum, qui Artacacna[11] obsidebat, redit. Ille, omnibus praeparatis, regis expectabat adventum, captae urbis titulo, sicut par erat, cedens. Igitur Alexander turres

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[1] According to our author's usual practice, for *editos montes*, 'the heights of the mountains.'

[2] 'As he was of a mind which always struggled to overcome difficulties:' he never rested quietly under difficulties, but always exerted every nerve to surmount them.

[3] The west wind, which the Greeks call Zephyrus.

[4] 'This wood, under the influence of the heat of the sun, had already taken fire.'

[5] 'The height of the mountain was reached.' As to *aequare*, see Zumpt, § 389.

[6] Fire was now for the first time thrown in, in order to extend the flame more rapidly.

[7] 'That too which the soldiers had not set on fire was seized by the flames, and gradually (*proxima quaeque*) consumed.

[8] 'If anywhere the fire died out;' that is, 'wherever the fire died out.' See Zumpt, § 740.

[9] It might also have been *igne* (*igni*). *Medio* is here the neuter, used substantively.

[10] Supply *se* out of the preceding clause.

[11] The name of this city, the capital of Ariana, is also written *Artacoana* or *Artacana*. Herat is now the chief town of the province.

admoveri jubet: ipsoque aspectu barbari territi, e muris supinas[1] manus tendentes, orare coeperunt, iram in Satibarzanem defectionis auctorem reservaret, supplicibus semet dedentibus parceret. Rex, data venia, non obsidionem modo solvit, sed omnia sua incolis reddidit. Ab hac urbe digresso supplementum novorum militum occurrit. Zoilus D equites ex Graecia adduxerat: III milia ex Illyrico Antipater miserat: Thessali equites C et XXX cum Philippo erant: ex Lydia II milia et DC, peregrinus miles, advenerant: CCC equites gentis ejusdem sequebantur. Hac manu adjecta Drangas[2] pervenit. Bellicosa natio est. Satrapes erat Barzaentes, sceleris in regem suum particeps Besso.[3] Is suppliciorum, quae meruerat, metu profugit in Indiam.

25. Jam nonum diem stativa erant, cum externa vi non tutus modo rex, sed invictus,[4] intestino facinore petebatur. Dimnus, modicae apud regem auctoritatis et gratiae, exoleti, cui Nicomacho erat nomen, amore flagrabat, obsequio uni sibi dediti corporis vinctus. Is, quod ex vultu quoque perspici poterat, similis attonito,[5] remotis arbitris cum juvene secessit in templum, arcana se et silenda afferre praefatus, suspensumque expectatione per[6] mutuam caritatem et pignora[7] utriusque animi rogat, ut affirmet jurejurando, quae commisisset, silentio esse tecturum. Et ille ratus, nihil, quod etiam cum perjurio detegendum foret, indicaturum, per praesentes deos jurat. Tum Dimnus aperit, in tertium diem regi insidias comparatas, seque ejus consilii fortibus viris et illustribus esse participem. Quibus juvenis auditis, se vero[8] fidem

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1 That is, with the palms of their hands turned upwards — a custom among the ancients when praying.

2 The Drangae or Zarangae were the inhabitants of the country about the extensive lake which the ancients called *Aria palus*, and is known in modern times under the name of Zareh. The Etymander (modern Hilmend), a large river which fertilises the country, flows into this lake. Jellalabad, on the Hilmend, is named as a principal town; but the district, which in antiquity and during the middle ages was cultivated to a high degree, is now deserted, and inaccessible to Europeans.

3 Construed like *conscius sum tibi alicujus rei*. See *Gram.* § 277, 2, note 2; and compare vi. 39, *ad init.*

4 'Not only secured from external violence, but unconquered by it.' *Tutus ab externa vi* might have been expected, but *tutus* is also sometimes construed with the mere ablative; and besides, *invictus*, which is also connected with the *vi*, requires the mere ablative.

5 'Very uneasy.' See note v. 27. It often means merely 'surprised.'

6 'By,' in adjurations. See Zumpt, § 301.

7 'Pledges' are here displays of attachment.

8 *Vero* merely serves to introduce the answer; it cannot be well translated.

in parricidio dedisse constanter abnuit, nec ulla religione, ut scelus tegat, posse constringi. Dimnus, et amore et metu amens, dexteram exoleti complexus,[1] et lacrimans, orare primum, ut particeps consilii operisque fieret: si id sustinere non posset, attamen ne proderet se, cujus erga ipsum benivolentiae praeter alia hoc quoque haberet fortissimum pignus, quod caput suum permisisset fidei adhuc inexpertae. Ad ultimum aversari scelus perseverantem mortis metu terret: ab illo[2] capite conjuratos pulcherrimum facinus inchoaturos. Alias deinde effeminatum et muliebriter timidum, alias proditorem amatoris appellans, nunc ingentia promittens, interdumque regnum quoque, versabat animum[3] tanto facinore procul abhorrentem. Strictum deinde gladium modo illius, modo suo admovens jugulo, supplex idem et infestus expressit tandem, ut non solum silentium, sed etiam operam polliceretur. Namque abunde constantis animi, et dignus qui pudicus esset, nihil ex pristina voluntate mutaverat, sed se captum Dimni amore simulabat nihil recusare. Sciscitari inde pergit, cum quibus[4] tantae rei societatem inisset: plurimum referre, quales viri tam memorabili operi admoturi manus essent. Ille, et amore et scelere male sanus, simul gratias agit, simul gratulatur, quod fortissimis juvenum non dubitasset se adjungere Demetrio, corporis custodi, Peucolao, Nicanori. Adjicit his Aphoebetum, Joceum, Dioxenum, Archepolim, Amyntam.

26. Ab hoc sermone dimissus Nicomachus ad fratrem, Cebalino erat nomen, quae acceperat defert. Placet, ipsum subsistere in tabernaculo, ne, si regiam intrasset, non assuetus adire regem, conjurati proditos se esse resciscerent. Ipse Cebalinus ante vestibulum regiae, neque enim propius aditus ei patebat, consistit, opperiens aliquem amicorum ex prima cohorte,[5] quo[6] introduceretur ad regem. Forte ceteris dimissis, unus Philotas, Parmenionis filius, incertum quam ob causam, substiterat in regia. Huic Cebalinus, ore confuso magnae perturbationis notas prae se ferens, aperit quae ex fratre compererat, et sine dilatione nuntiari regi jubet. Philotas, collaudato eo, protinus intrat ad Alexandrum, multoque invicem de

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[1] 'Having seized and clasped.' *Complecti* is often used of the hand.

[2] What is *hic* in direct speech becomes *ille* in the *oratio obliqua*. See Zumpt, § 703.

[3] 'He endeavoured to work upon him,' or 'move him.' As to *animum* used for a person, see Zumpt, § 678.

[4] *Quibuscum* is more common.

[5] By *prima cohors* is meant the first cohort of the ἑταῖροι, as the corps of Macedonian cavalry was called. This first cohort had the distinction of guarding the king's person.

[6] More equally *a quo*.

aliis rebus sermone consumpto, nihil eorum, quae ex Cebalino cognoverat, nuntiat. Sub vesperam eum prodeuntem in vestibulo regiae excipit juvenis, an mandatum executus foret requirens. Ille, non vacasse sermoni suo regem causatus, discessit. Postero die Cebalinus venienti in regiam praesto est, intrantemque admonet pridie communicatae cum ipso rei. Ille curae sibi esse respondet: ac ne tum quidem regi quae audierat aperit. Coeperat Cebalino esse suspectus. Itaque non ultra interpellandum[1] ratus, nobili juveni, Metron erat ei nomen, super armamentarium posito,[2] quod scelus pararetur indicat. Ille, Cebalino in armamentario abscondito, protinus regi, corpus forte curanti,[3] quid ei[4] index detulisset, ostendit.

27. Rex, ad comprehendendum Dimnum missis satellitibus, armamentarium intrat. Ibi Cebalinus gaudio elatus, Habeo te,[5] inquit, incolumem ex impiorum manibus ereptum. Percontatus deinde Alexander quae noscenda erant,[6] ordine cuncta cognoscit. Rursusque instituit quaerere, quotus dies esset, ex quo Nicomachus ad eum detulisset indicium. Atque illo fatente, jam tertium esse, existimans, haud incorrupta fide tanto post deferre quae audierat, vinciri eum jusserat.[7] Ille clamitare coepit,[8] eodem temporis momento, quo audisset, ad Philotan decurrisse: ab eo percontaretur.[9] Rex item quaerens, an Philotan adisset, an institisset ei, ut pervenirent ad se,[10] perseverante eo affirmare quae dixerat, manus ad coelum tendens, manantibus lacrimis, hanc sibi a carissimo quondam amicorum relatam gratiam querebatur. Inter haec Dimnus, haud ignarus quam ob causam accerseretur a rege, gladio, quo forte erat cinctus, graviter se vulnerat, occursuque satellitum inhibitus, perfertur in regiam. Quem intuens rex, Quod, inquit, in te, Dimne, tantum cogitavi nefas, ut tibi

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[1] *Interpellare*, 'to annoy with conversation;' equivalent to *appellare*, but implying the idea of troublesomeness.

[2] 'Superintendent of the armoury.'

[3] In this case, 'bathing,' as we learn from chapter 33.

[4] See *Gram.* § 113, note 1, and Zumpt, § 550. Compare in the following chapter *ad eum detulisset*.

[5] 'I consider thee.'

[6] 'Which could be ascertained.' Gerundive, with the meaning of possibility.

[7] Understand *jam*, 'already.'

[8] *Coepit* sometimes serves merely to give a graphic picture. See Zumpt, § 753.

[9] 'He might ask him'—a transition from the accusative with the infinitive to the subjunctive, with an understood verb of request. See *Gram.* §§ 370 and 388, note 2.

[10] 'That it—namely, the revelation of the conspiracy—might come to his knowledge.' The plural is used because there is a considerable number of particulars; a little before, too, we have *quae audierat*.

Macedonum regno dignior Philotas me quoque ipso videretur? Illum jam defecerat vox. Itaque edito gemitu, vultuque a conspectu regis averso, subinde collapsus extinguitur.

28. Rex, Philota venire in regiam jusso, Cebalinus, inquit, ultimum supplicium meritus, si in caput meum praeparatas insidias biduo texit, hujus criminis Philotan reum substituit, ad quem protinus[1] indicium detulisse se affirmat. Quo propiore gradu amicitiae me contingis, hoc majus est dissimulationis tuae facinus, et ego Cabalino magis quam Philotae id convenire fateor. Faventem habes judicem, si, quod admitti non oportuit,[2] saltem negari potest. Ad haec Philotas haud sane trepidus, si animus vultu aestimaretur,[3] Cebalinum quidem scorti sermonem ad se detulisse, sed ipsum tam levi auctori nihil credidisse, respondit, veritum, ne jurgium inter amatorem et exoletum non sine risu aliorum detulisset:[4] cum Dimnus interemerit semet, qualiacunque erant, non fuisse reticenda. Complexusque regem orare coepit, ut praeteritam vitam potius quam culpam, silentii tamen, non facti ullius, intueretur. Haud facile dixerim, crediderítne ei rex, an altius iram suppresserit: dextram reconciliatae gratiae pignus obtulit, et contemptum magis, quam celatum indicium esse, videri sibi dixit.

29. Advocato tum consilio amicorum, cui tamen Philotas adhibitus non est, Nicomachum introduci jubet. Is eadem, quae detulerat ad regem, ordine[5] exposuit. Erat Craterus regi carus in paucis, et eo Philotae ob aemulationem dignitatis adversus; neque ignorabat, saepe[6] Alexandri auribus nimia jactatione virtutis atque operae gravem fuisse, et ob ea non quidem sceleris, sed contumaciae tamen esse suspectum. Non aliam premendi[7] inimici occasionem aptiorem futuram ratus, odio suo pietatis praeferens speciem, Utinam,

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[1] 'Forthwith,' 'without delay.'

[2] 'What dared not be committed'—that is, the crime. No excuse, it is intimated, could at all be received.

[3] 'Undismayed, if his feelings were to be, or had been, judged of from his countenance.' See *Gram.* § 345, note.

[4] That is, *ne detulisse videretur.*

[5] Equivalent to *ex ordine.* See Zumpt, § 472, *ad fin.*

[6] Supply *eum* out of the preceding *Philotae.* In such omissions of the accusative with the infinitive, Curtius takes little liberties, which, however, were perhaps allowed in the living language.

[7] 'To crush;' nearly equivalent here to *opprimendi.* The following speech is viewed by Curtius as an unmatched piece of baseness; but the end of the trial shows that Philotas was guilty. There is no doubt that among the generals of Philip's school Alexander had many secret enemies, and that his extraordinary genius was not acknowledged by them with that admiration and sincerity which it deserved. We ought to sympathise with the king, not abuse him.

inquit, in principio quoque hujus rei nobiscum deliberasses. Suasissemus, si Philotae velles ignoscere, patereris potius ignorare eum, quantum deberet tibi, quam usque ad mortis metum adductum cogeres saepius de periculo suo, quam de tuo cogitare beneficio. Ille enim semper insidiari tibi poterit, tu non semper Philotae poteris ignoscere. Nec est quod existimes,[1] eum, qui tantum ausus est, venia posse mutari. Scit eos, qui misericordiam consumpserunt,[2] amplius sperare non posse. At ego, etiamsi ipse vel poenitentia vel beneficio tuo victus quiescere volet, patrem ejus Parmenionem, tanti ducem exercitus, et inveterata apud milites tuos auctoritate haud multum infra magnitudinis tuae fastigium positum, scio non aequo animo salutem filii sui debiturum tibi. Quaedam beneficia odimus. Meruisse mortem confiteri pudet. Superest, ut malit videri injuriam accepisse, quam vitam. Proinde scito tibi cum illis de salute esse pugnandum. Satis hostium superest, ad quos persequendos ituri sumus: latus a domesticis hostibus muni. Hos si summoves, nihil metuo ab externo.

30. Haec Craterus. Nec ceteri dubitabant, quin conjurationis indicium suppressurus non fuisset, nisi auctor aut particeps. Quem enim pium et bonae mentis,[3] non amicum modo, sed ex ultima plebe, auditis quae ad eum delata erant, non protinus ad regem fuisse cursurum? ne Cebalini quidem exemplo, qui ex[4] fratre comperta ipsi nuntiasset, Parmenionis filium, praefectum equitatus, omnium arcanorum regis arbitrum?[5] simulasse etiam, non vacasse sermoni suo regem, ne index alium internuntium quaereret. Nicomachum, religione quoque deum astrictum, conscientiam suam exonerare properasse: Philotam, consumpto per ludum jocumque paene toto die, gravatum esse pauca verba, pertinentia ad caput regis, tam longo et forsitan supervacuo inserere sermoni. At enim se non credidisse talia deferentibus pueris![6] Cur igitur extraxisset[7] biduum, tanquam indicio haberet fidem? dimittendum fuisse Cebalinum, si delationem ejus damnabat. In suo quemque periculo magnum animum habere, cum de salute regis timeretur, credulos

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[1] 'There is no reason why you should believe.' See Zumpt, § 562.

[2] 'Who have exhausted the measure of compassion.'

[3] *Pius*, who loves and honours the king, the father of the state; *bonae mentis*, who cherishes a good disposition, retains his old attachments, and is not led away by novelties.

[4] 'From the mouth of.' See Zumpt, § 309.

[5] Supply out of the preceding sentence *cucurrisse*.

[6] Understand 'he alleges in his defence.'

[7] 'Why, then, had he delayed for a period of two days?' The infinitive should properly have been used here. See *Gram.* § 389.

esse debere, vana quoque deferentes admittere.[1] Omnes igitur quaestionem de eo, ut participes sceleris indicare cogeretur, habendam esse decernunt. Rex, admonitos, uti consilium silentio premerent, dimittit.

31. Pronuntiari deinde iter in posterum[2] jubet ne qua novi initi consilii daretur nota.* Invitatus est etiam Philotas ad ultimas ipsi epulas et rex non coenare modo, sed etiam familiariter colloqui cum eo, quem damnaverat, sustinuit. Secunda deinde vigilia, luminibus extinctis, cum paucis in regiam coëunt Hephaestion et Craterus et Coenus et Erigyius, hi ex amicis, ex armigeris[3] autem Perdiccas et Leonnatus. Per hos imperatum, ut qui ad praetorium excubabant, armati vigilarent. Jam ad omnes aditus dispositi erant equites, itinera quoque obsidere jussi, ne quis ad Parmenionem, qui tum mediae magnisque copiis praeerat, occultus evaderet. Atharrias autem cum trecentis armatis intraverat regiam: huic decem satellites[4] traduntur,[5] quorum singulos deni armigeri sequebantur. Hi ad alios conjuratos comprehendendos distributi sunt: Atharrias, cum trecentis ad Philotam missus clausum aditum domus moliebatur, quinquaginta juvenum promptissimis stipatus;[6] nam ceteros cingere undique domum jusserat, ne occulto aditu Philotas posset elabi. Illum, sive securitate animi, sive fatigatione resolutum, somnus oppresserat; quem Atharrias torpentem[7] adhuc occupat. Tandem ei sopore discusso cum injicerentur catenae. Vicit, inquit, bonitatem tuam, rex, inimicorum meorum acerbitas. Nec plura elocutum capite velato in regiam adducunt.

32. Postero die rex edixit, omnes armati coirent. Sex

[1] The 'every one' (*quemque*) is considered, as subject to *credulos esse*, to be 'all.' A copulative conjunction, to connect *admittere* with the preceding clause, is wanting; for *quoque* has here the power of *vel*, 'even.' The conjunction is rhetorically omitted (Zumpt, § 783), just as *vero* in the clause *cum de salute regis timeretur*.

[2] Supply *diem*.

[3] This term denotes here those in the Macedonian army who were called *σωματοφύλακες*, generals of the highest rank, who acted as the king's adjutants. The word is elsewhere used by Curtius to denote common soldiers of the king's household troops (Greek *ὑπασπισταί*). As all who are here mentioned must have been the king's most intimate associates; *amici* expresses generals who did not belong to the seven *σωματοφύλακες*.

[4] This general term appears to mean here soldiers of that company of the *agema* which had the particular distinction of fighting nearest the king; *armigeri*, soldiers of the other cohorts of the *agema*.

[5] 'Are placed under his command.'

[6] 'Closely surrounded;' with the mere ablative even of persons.

[7] 'Still in a state of insensibility;' that is, 'while still asleep.'

milia fere militum venerant; praeterea turba lixarum calonumque impleverant[1] regiam. Philotam armigeri agmine suo tegebant, ne ante conspici posset a vulgo, quam rex allocutus milites esset. De capitalibus rebus vetusto Macedonum modo inquirebat exercitus, in pace erat vulgi; et nihil potestas regum valebat, nisi prius valuisset auctoritas.[2] Igitur Dimni primum cadaver infertur, plerisque, quid parasset, quove casu extinctus esset, ignaris. Rex deinde in contionem procedit, vultu praeferens dolorem animi. Amicorum quoque maestitia expectationem haud parvam rei fecerat. Diu rex demisso in terram vultu attonito stupentique similis stetit. Tandem recepto animo, Paene, inquit, milites, hominum scelere vobis ereptus sum: deum[3] providentia et misericordia vivo. Conspectusque vestri venerabilis[4] coëgit, ut vehementius parricidis irascerer, quoniam praecipuus, immo unus vitae meae fructus est, tot fortissimis viris et de me optime meritis referre adhuc gratiam posse. Interrupit orationem militum gemitus, obortaeque sunt omnibus lacrimae. Tum rex, Quanto, inquit, majorem in animis vestris motum excitabo, cum tanti sceleris auctores ostendero! quorum mentionem adhuc reformido, et tanquam salvi esse possint, nominibus abstineo. Sed vincenda est memoria pristinae caritatis, et conjuratio impiorum civium detegenda. Quomodo autem tantum nefas sileam? Parmenio, illa aetate, tot meis, tot parentis mei meritis devictus, omnium nobis amicorum vetustissimus, ducem se sceleri tanto praebuit. Minister ejus Philotas Peucolaum et Demetrium et hunc Dimnum, cujus corpus aspicitis, ceterosque ejusdem amentiae, in caput meum subornavit.

33. Fremitus undique indignantium querentiumque tota contione obstrepebat, qualis solet esse multitudinis, et maxime militaris, ubi aut studio agitur, aut ira. Nicomachus deinde et Metron et Cebalinus producti, quae quisque detulerat exponunt. Nullius eorum indicio Philotas particeps sceleris destinabatur.[5] Itaque, indignatione pressa, vox indicum silentio excepta est. Tum rex, Qualis, inquit, ergo animi vobis videtur, qui hujus rei delatum indicium

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[1] Plural verb with singular of collective noun. See *Gram.* § 244, 1. Compare a similar instance, iv. 45.

[2] 'Unless previously their expressed opinion had prevailed and been approved of.' This is in the genuine Roman sense the *auctoritas* of any one.

[3] For this form, see *Gram.* § 58, note 5.

[4] 'The venerable sight of you:' *vestri*, the objective genitive. *Venerabilis* is joined to *conspectus*, though it is properly an epithet of the soldiers.

[5] 'Was indicated or pointed out as.'

ad ipsum suppressit? Quod non fuisse vanum, Dimni exitus declarat. Incertam rem deferens tormenta non timuit Cebalinus, Metron ne momentum quidem temporis distulit exonerare se, ut eo, ubi lavabar, irrumperet: Philotas solus nihil timuit, nihil credidit. O magni animi virum! Iste regis periculo commoveretur! vultum mutaret! indicem tantae rei sollicitus audiret![1] Subest nimirum[2] silentio facinus, et avida spes regni praecipitem animum ad ultimum nefas impulit. Pater Mediae praeest. Ipse apud multos copiarum duces meis praepotens viribus, majora, quam capit, spirat.[3] Orbitas quoque mea, quod sine liberis sum, spernitur. Sed errat Philotas. In vobis liberos, parentes, consanguineos habeo: vobis salvis, orbus esse non possum.

34. Epistolam deinde Parmenionis interceptam, quam ad filios Nicanorem et Philotam scripserat, recitat, haud sane indicium gravioris consilii praeferentem. Namque summa ejus haec erat: Primum vestri curam agite, deinde vestrorum: sic enim quae destinavimus efficiemus. Adjecitque rex, sic esse scriptam, ut sive ad filios pervenisset, a consciis posset intelligi, sive intercepta esset, falleret ignaros. At enim Dimnus, cum ceteros participes sceleris indicaret, Philotam non nominavit! Hoc quidem illius non innocentiae, sed potentiae indicium est, quod sic ab iis timetur etiam, a quibus prodi potest, ut, cum de se fateantur, illum tamen celent. Ceterum Philotam ipsius indicat vita. Hic Amyntae, qui mihi consobrinus fuit[4] et in Macedonia capiti meo impias comparavit insidias, socium se et conscium adjunxit. Hic Attalo, quo graviorem inimicum non habui,[5] sororem suam in matrimonium dedit. Hic, cum scripsissem ei pro jure tam familiaris usus atque amicitiae, qualis sors edita esset Jovis Hammonis oraculo, sustinuit rescribere mihi, se quidem gratulari, quod in numerum deorum receptus

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[1] '*He* should be moved, change his countenance, listen with anxiety!' See *Gram.* § 349.

[2] Namely, for the explanation of the matter.

[3] As the noun *spiritus* is sometimes used to express lofty and far-reaching hopes, so here the verb.

[4] This Amyntas, the son of Perdiccas, was properly Alexander's *frater patruelis*; that is, their fathers were brothers. *Consobrini*, according to the original application of the word, are the sons of sisters; it often, however, expresses cousins-german generally. The children of *consobrini* are *sobrini* to each other.

[5] Because Attalus was the uncle of Cleopatra, whom Philip had married after his separation from Olympias, the mother of Alexander. This Attalus had exerted himself, too, to deprive Alexander of the succession to the government of Macedon, and to secure the crown for the son of his niece.

essem, ceterum misereri eorum, quibus vivendum esset sub eo, qui modum hominis excederet. Haec sunt etiam pridem animi alienati a me[1] et invidentis gloriae meae indicia: quae equidem, milites, quamdiu licuit, in animo meo pressi. Videbar enim mihi partem viscerum meorum abrumpere,[2] si, in quos tam magna contuleram, viliores mihi facerem. Sed jam non verba punienda sunt: linguae temeritas pervenit ad gladios. Hos, si mihi creditis, Philotas in me acuit. Id si ipse admisit, quo me conferam, milites? cui caput meum credam? Equitatui, optimae exercitus parti, principibus nobilissimae juventutis, unum praefeci:[3] salutem, spem, victoriam meam fidei ejus tutelaeque commisi. Patrem in idem fastigium, in quo me ipsi posuistis, admovi: Mediam, qua nulla opulentior regio est, et tot civium sociorumque milia imperio ejus dicionique subjeci. Unde praesidium petieram, periculum extitit. Quam feliciter in acie occidissem, potius hostis praeda, quam civis victima! Nunc servatus ex periculis, quae sola timui, in haec incidi, quae timere non debui.[4] Soletis identidem a me, milites, petere, ut saluti meae parcam. Ipsi mihi praestare potestis, quod suadetis ut faciam. Ad vestras manus, ad vestra arma confugio: invitis vobis salvus esse nolo: volentibus,[5] non possum, nisi vindicor.

35. Tum Philotam, religatis post tergum manibus, obsoleto amiculo velatum jussit induci. Facile apparebat, motos esse tam miserabili habitu non sine invidia paulo ante conspecti. Ducem equitatus pridie viderant; sciebant, regis interfuisse convivio. Repente non reum quidem, sed etiam damnatum, immo vinctum, intuebantur.[6] Subibat animos Parmenionis quoque, tanti ducis, tam clari civis, fortuna, qui modo duobus filiis, Hectore ac Nicanore, orbatus, cum eo, quem reliquum calamitas fecerat, absens diceret causam.[7] Itaque Amyntas, regius praetor, inclinatam ad misericordiam contionem rursus

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[1] 'These are proofs that his mind was alienated from me even long ago.'

[2] 'I felt as if I were tearing away a part of my own heart.' *Viscera* are the heart, liver, lungs, and kidneys, which were looked upon as seats of feeling.

[3] 'I have given him the sole command of the cavalry;' an intimation that this command was afterwards shared between two.

[4] 'Which I should not have had to fear.' See *Gram.* § 328.

[5] 'If you wish it;' namely, that I should remain alive.

[6] 'They suddenly saw him, not merely as an accused person, but as,' &c.

[7] *Causam dicere* is always said of accused persons, 'to defend one's-self,' here in the sense of 'to be forced to defend himself,' 'to be grievously blamed.'

aspera in Philotam oratione commovit: proditos eos esse barbaris: neminem ad conjugem suam, in patriam, et ad parentes fuisse rediturum: velut truncum corpus dempto capite, sine spiritu, sine nomine, aliena terra,[1] ludibrium hostis futuros. Haudquaquam pro spe ipsius Amyntae oratio grata regi fuit, quod conjugum, quod patriae admonitos pigriores ad cetera munia exequenda fecisset.[2]

36. Tunc Coenus, quamquam Philotae sororem matrimonio secum conjunxerat, tamen acrius quam quisquam in Philotam invectus est, parricidam esse regis, patriae, exercitus, clamitans: saxumque, quod forte ante pedes jacebat, arripuit, emissurus in eum; ut plerique credidere, tormentis subtrahere cupiens. Sed rex manum ejus inhibuit, dicendi prius causam[3] debere fieri potestatem reo, nec aliter judicari passurum se, affirmans. Tum dicere orsus Philotas, sive conscientia sceleris, sive periculi magnitudine, amens et attonitus, non attollere oculos, non hiscere[4] audebat. Lacrimis deinde manantibus, linquente animo,[5] in eum, a quo tenebatur, incubuit: abstersisque amiculo ejus oculis, paulatim recipiens spiritum ac vocem, dicturus videbatur. Jamque rex, intuens eum, Macedones, inquit, de te judicaturi sunt: quaero, an patrio sermone sis apud eos usurus. Tum Philotas, Praeter Macedonas,[6] inquit, plerique adsunt, quos facilius quae dicam percepturos arbitror, si eadem lingua fuero usus, qua tu egisti, non ob aliud, credo, quam ut oratio tua intelligi posset a pluribus. Tum rex, Ecquid[7] videtis, adeo etiam sermonis patrii Philotam taedere? solus quippe fastidit eum discere. Sed dicat sane, utcunque ei cordi est,[8] dum memineritis,[9] aeque illum a nostro more, quam a sermone abhorrere. Atque ita contione excessit.

37. Tum Philotas, Verba, inquit, innocenti reperire facile est, modum verborum misero tenere difficile. Itaque inter optimam conscientiam et iniquissimam fortunam destitutus,[10] ignoro quomodo et animo meo, et tempori paream. Abest quidem optimus causae meae judex, qui cur me ipse audire

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1 'In a foreign land.' Compare iv. 6.

2 The subjunctive makes the sense to be *quod putabat eum fecisse*.

3 The more usual construction is *causae dicendae*. See *Gram.* § 392.

4 'To open his mouth.'

5 In this phrase *linquere* for *relinquere* is common, also *linqui animo*.

6 As to this form, see *Gram.* § 70, 7.

7 Equivalent to *nonne*.

8 'What has always been his liking.' See *Gram.* § 270.

9 *Dum* in the sense of *dummodo*. See Zumpt, § 572, *ad fin.*

10 'Deserted,' implying that he is given up into the hands of his enemies.

noluerit, non mehercule excogito, cum illi utrimque cognita causa tam damnare me liceat, quam absolvere, non cognita vero liberari ab absente non possum, qui a praesente damnatus sum. Sed quamquam vincti hominis non supervacua solum, sed etiam invisa defensio est, qui judicem non docere videtur, sed arguere: tamen, utcunque licet me dicere,[1] memet ipse non deseram, nec committam, ut damnatus etiam mea sententia videar. Equidem cujus criminis reus sim, non video. Inter conjuratos nemo me nominat; de me Nicomachus nihil dixit; Cebalinus plus quam audierat scire non potuit. Atqui conjurationis caput me fuisse credit rex! Potuit ergo Dimnus eum praeterire, quem sequebatur? praesertim cum quaerenti socios vel falso fuerim nominandus,[2] quo facilius qui temptabatur posset impelli. Non enim detecto facinore nomen meum preateriit, ut posset videri socio pepercisse: Nicomacho, quem taciturum arcana de semetipso credebat, confessus, aliis nominatis, me unum subtrahebat.[3] Quaeso, commilitones, si Cebalinus me non adisset, nihil me de conjuratis scire voluisset, num hodie dicerem causam, nullo me nominante? Dimnus sane et viveret adhuc, et velut mihi parceret: quid ceteri? qui de se confitebuntur, me videlicet subtrahent![4] Maligna est calamitas, et fere noxius, cum suo supplicio crucietur,[5] acquiescit alieno. Tot conscii ne in equuleum quidem impositi verum fatebuntur? Atqui[6] nemo parcit morituro, nec cuiquam moriturus, ut opinor.

38. Ad verum crimen et ad unum revertendum mihi est: cur rem delatam ad te tacuisti? cur tam securus audisti? Hoc qualecunque est, confesso mihi, ubicunque es, Alexander, remisisti: dexteram tuam amplexus, reconciliati pignus animi, convivio quoque interfui. Si credidisti mihi,

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[1] For the construction of *licet*, see Zumpt, § 601.

[2] To give the force of the gerundive, we must translate here by the active voice: 'especially since one might have been under the necessity of naming me, even falsely.' See *Gram.* § 397.

[3] 'It was not after the discovery that he passed over my name; but when giving information to Nicomachus, who, he believed, would keep the secret, he named all the others, concealing me only. The 'but' introducing the second part of such a sentence as this, is in the Latin rhetorically omitted. See Zumpt, § 781.

[4] Granting that Dimnus were still alive, and willing to spare me, will the others, when confessing their own share in the conspiracy, keep my name concealed! Ironical, meaning 'No doubt the others will name me—but they do not.' *Viveret* and *parceret* are concessive subjunctives. See *Gram.* § 351.

[5] The indicative might also have stood here: 'When he is enduring the tortures of his own punishment.'

[6] 'But assuredly nobody spares one who is doomed to die.'

absolutus sum, si pepercisti, dimissus:[1] vel judicium tuum serva. Quid hac proxima nocte, qua digressus sum a mensa tua, feci? quod novum facinus delatum ad te mutavit animum tuum? Gravi sopore acquiescebam, cum me malis indormientem meis[2] inimici vinciendo excitaverunt. Unde et parricidae et proditori tam alti quies somni? Scelerati conscientia obstrepente cum dormire non possunt, agitant eos furiae, non cogitato modo, sed etiam consummato parricidio.[3] At mihi securitatem primum innocentia mea, deinde tua dextera obtulerant: non timui, ne plus alienae crudelitati apud te liceret, quam clementiae tuae. Sed ne te mihi credidisse poeniteat, res ad me deferebatur a puero, qui non testem, non pignus indicii exhibere poterat, impleturus[4] omnes metu, si coepisset audiri. Amatoris et scorti jurgio interponi aures meas credidi infelix,[5] et fidem ejus suspectam habui, quod non ipse deferret, sed fratrem potius subornaret.[6] Timui, ne negaret mandasse sese Cebalino, et ego viderer multis amicorum regis fuisse periculi causa. Sic quoque cum laeserim neminem inveni, qui mallet[7] perire me, quam incolumem esse: quid inimicitiarum creditis excepturum fuisse, si insontes lacessissem? At enim Dimnus se occidit! Num igitur facturum eum divinare potui? Minime. Ita quod solum indicio fidem fecit, id me, cum a Cebalino interpellatus sum, movere non poterat.

39. At hercule, si conscius Dimno tanti sceleris fuissem, biduo illo proditos esse nos, dissimulare non debui: Cebalinus ipse tolli de medio nulloque[8] negotio potuit. Denique post delatum indicium, quo periturus eram,[9] cubiculum regis solus intravi, ferro quidem cinctus. Cur distuli facinus? An sine Dimno non sum ausus? Ille igitur princeps conjurationis fuit! sub illius umbra Philotas latebam, qui regnum

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[1] 'Dismissed' from the trial. Not so honourable as an acquittal.

[2] 'As I was sleeping on my misfortunes,' undisturbed by them, though they watched over me.

[3] We should expect the clauses inverted thus: 'Not only when they have committed murder, but even when they have only formed the design.' But it is a psychological fact, that after the commission of a crime men are more tranquil than when they are meditating it.

[4] Equivalent to *qui omnes impleturus erat*, or *qui omnes implevisset*. Curtius is fond of using the future participle as the apodosis of a hypothetical sentence; and this practice indicates a fine taste in composition. See Zumpt, § 639, note.

[5] 'I unfortunately thought that my ears were called to share in a quarrel.'

[6] 'Instigated.'

[7] As to this subjunctive, see *Gram.* § 360, 4.

[8] 'And that, too, without any trouble.'

[9] 'By which (evidence) I was to die.'

Macedonum affecto! Ecquis[1] e vobis corruptus est donis? quem ducem, quem praefectum impensius[2] colui? Mihi quidem objicitur, quod societatem patrii sermonis asperner, quod Macedonum mores fastidiam. Sic ergo imperio, quod dedignor, immineo! Jam pridem nativus ille sermo commercio aliarum gentium exolevit: tam victoribus, quam victis, peregrina lingua discenda est. Non mehercule ista me magis laedunt, quam quod Amyntas, Perdiccae filius, insidiatus est regi; cum quo quod amicitia fuerit mihi, non recuso defendere, si fratrem[3] regis non oportuit diligi a nobis. Sin autem in illo fortunae gradu positum etiam venerari necesse erat: utrum, quaeso, quod non divinavi, reus sum, an impiorum amicis insontibus quoque moriendum est? Quod si aequum est, cur tamdiu vivo? si injustum, cur nunc demum occidor?[4] At enim scripsi, misereri me eorum, quibus vivendum esset sub eo, qui se Jovis filium crederet. Fides amicitiae, veri consilii periculosa libertas, vos me decepistis! vos, quae sentiebam, ne reticerem, impulistis! Scripsisse me haec fateor regi, non de rege scripsisse. Non enim faciebam invidiam, sed pro eo timebam. Dignior mihi Alexander videbatur, qui Jovis stirpem[5] tacitus agnosceret, quam qui praedicatione jactaret. Sed quoniam oraculi fides certa est, sit deus causae meae testis. Retinete me in vinculis, dum consulitur Hammon arcanum et occultum scelus.[6] Interim, qui regem nostrum dignatus est filium, neminem eorum, qui stirpi suae insidiati sunt latere patieter. Si certiora oraculis creditis esse tormenta, ne hanc quidem exhibendae veritatis fidem deprecor.

40. Solent rei capitis adhibere vobis parentes.[7] Duos fratres ego nuper amisi; patrem nec ostendere possum, nec invocare audeo, cum et ipse tanti criminis reus sit. Parum est enim, tot modo liberum parentem, in unico filio acquiescentem, eo quoque orbari, nisi ipse in rogum meum imponitur. Ergo, carissime pater, et propter me morieris, et

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[1] 'Is there any one?' a question which expects a negative answer.

[2] 'With a greater expenditure (of trouble) than usual.'

[3] In both Latin and Greek, first cousins are frequently called brothers.

[4] 'Why, then, am I now at last put to death!' *Demum* here in the somewhat rare sense of *denique, ad extremum*.

[5] 'Descent,' frequently the descendant himself.

[6] The accusative instead of *de scelere*. See *Gram.* § 254, 2.

[7] 'To bring up their parents before you;' namely, as intercessors, *deprecatores*. The fact that, in the next sentence, the speaker mentions his two brothers, leads us to conclude that the author uses *parentes* here in the wide sense of 'relatives.' This use of the word was not introduced till very late Latinity.

mecum. Ego tibi vitam adimo, ego senectutem tuam extinguo! Quid enim me procreabas infelicem adversantibus diis? an ut hos ex me fructus perciperes, qui te manent? Nescio, adolescentia mea miserior sit, an senectus tua: ego in ipso robore aetatis eripior: tibi carnifex spiritum adimet, quem si fortuna expectare voluisset, natura poscebat. Admonuit me patris mei mentio, quam timide et cunctantur, quae Cebalinus detulerat ad me, indicare debuerim. Parmenio enim, cum audisset, venenum a Phillippo medico regi parari, deterrere eum voluit epistola scripta, quo minus medicamentum biberet, quod medicus dare constitueret.[1] Num creditum est patri meo? num ullam auctoritatem ejus litterae habuerunt? Ego ipse, quotiens quae audieram detuli, cum ludibrio credulitatis repulsus sum. Si et cum indicamus, invisi, et cum tacemus, suspecti sumus, quid facere nos oportet? Cumque unus e circumstantium turba exclamasset, Bene meritis non insidiari: Philotas, Recte, inquit, quisquis es, dicis. Itaque si insidiatus sum, poenam non deprecor, et finem facio dicendi, quoniam ultima verba gravia sunt visa auribus. Abducitur deinde ab his, qui custodiebant eum.

41. Erat inter duces manu strenuus Bolon quidam, pacis artium et civilis habitus[2] rudis, vetus miles, ab humili ordine ad eum gradum, in quo tunc erat, promotus: qui tacentibus ceteris, stolida audacia ferox, admonere eos coepit, quotiens suis quisque diversoriis, quae occupassent,[3] proturbatus esset, ut purgamenta[4] servorum Philotae reciperentur eo, unde commilitones expulisset. Auro argentoque vehicula ejus onusta totis vicis stetisse, ac ne in viciniam quidem diversorii quemquam commilitonem receptum esse, sed per dispositos, quos supra somnum[5] habebat, omnes procul relegatos, ne

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[1] The story is related in iii. 14, and in fact in that instance the king's disregard of Parmenio's information is very surprising. The history, too, of the events between that period and the present trial of Philotas, has presented us with more than one proof of the fact that Alexander gave very little weight to Parmenio's counsels; and indeed we see throughout that he had an inward aversion to him.

[2] 'Civil (that is, polished) manners,' as distinguished from the rough, blunt ways of a soldier.

[3] With *quisque* the verb in subordinate clauses is sometimes put in the plural, when that in the leading clause is in the singular. See *Gram.* § 242, note 1.

[4] 'The offscourings,' a strong expression for the meanest and vilest class.

[5] *Supra* and *super* (see vi. 26), used in reference to officers appointed over something; therefore *qui Caesari est supra hortos*, superintendent of the imperial gardens.

femina illa murmurantium inter se silentio verius, quam sono, excitaretur. Ludibrio ei fuisse rusticos homines, Phrygasque et Paphlagonas[1] appellatos: qui non erubesceret, Macedo natus, homines linguae suae per interpretem audire. Nunc cur Hammonem consuli vellet? eundem Jovis arguisse mendacium, Alexandrum filium agnoscentis, scilicet veritum, ne invidiosum esset, quod dii offerrent.[2] Cum insidiaretur capiti regis et amici, non consuluisse eum Jovem: nunc ad oraculum mittere, dum pater ejus sollicitetur, qui praesit in Media, et pecunia, cujus custodia commissa sit, perditos homines ad societatem sceleris impellat. Ipsos missuros ad oraculum, non qui Jovem interrogent, quod ex rege cognoverint, sed qui gratias agant, qui vota pro incolumitate regis optimi persolvant. Tum vero universa contio accensa est, et a corporis custodibus initium factum, clamantibus, discerpendum esse parricidam manibus eorum.[3] Id quidem Philotas, qui graviora supplicia metueret, haud sane iniquo animo audiebat.

42. Rex in contionem reversus, sive ut in custodia quoque torqueret,[4] sive ut diligentius cuncta cognosceret, concilium in posterum diem distulit: et quamquam in vesperam inclinabat dies, tamen amicos convocari jubet. Et ceteris quidem placebat, Macedonum more obrui saxis, Hephaestion autem et Craterus et Coenus tormentis veritatem exprimendam esse dixerunt, et illi quoque, qui aliud suaserant, in horum sententiam transeunt. Consilio ergo dimisso, Hephaestion cum Cratero et Coeno ad quaestionem de Philota habendam consurgunt. Rex cratero accersito, et sermone habito, cujus summa[5] non edita est, in intimam diversorii partem secessit, et remotis arbitris in multam noctem quaestionis expectavit eventum. Tortores in conspectum Philotae omnia crudelitatis instrumenta proponunt. Et ille ultro, Quid cessatis, inquit, regis inimicum, interfectorem,[6] confitentem occidere? quid quaestione opus est? cogitavi, volui. Craterus exigere, ut, quae confiteretur, in tormentis quoque diceret. Dum corripitur, dum obligantur oculi, dum vestis

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[1] Both of these nations were notorious among the ancients for slowness of intellect. Regarding the Phrygians, the proverb was current: *Sero sapiunt Phryges.*

[2] Ironical: 'for he feared, no doubt, lest the god's declaration that Alexander was his son, being such an extraordinary honour, might excite envy.'

[3] *Ipsorum* would have been more rigidly accurate. See Zumpt, § 550.

[4] More accurately, *sive ut torqueret quoque in custodia.*

[5] 'Substance.'

[6] *Et* is rhetorically omitted. See Zumpt, § 783.

exuitur, deos patrios, gentium jura nequicquam apud surdas aures invocabat. Per ultimos deinde cruciatus, utpote et damnatus, et inimicis in gratiam regis torquentibus, laceratur. Ac primo quamquam hinc ignis, illinc verbera, jam non ad quaestionem, sed ad poenam ingerebantur, non vocem modo, sed etiam gemitus habuit in potestate; sed postquam intumescens corpus ulceribus flagellorum ictus nudis ossibus incussos ferre non poterat, si tormentis adhibituri modum essent, dicturum se, quae scire expeterent, pollicetur. Sed finem quaestioni fore, jurare eos per Alexandri salutem volebat, removerique tortores. Et utroque impetrato, Cratere, inquit, dic quid me velis dicere. Illo indignante ludificari eum, rursusque revocante tortores, tempus petere coepit, dum reciperet spiritum, cuncta quae sciret indicaturus. Interim equites, nobilissimus quisque, et ii maxime, qui Parmenionem propinqua cognatione contingebant, postquam Philotam torqueri fama vulgaverat, legem Macedonum veriti, qua cautum erat, ut propinqui eorum, qui regi insidiati essent, cum ipsis necarentur, alii se interficiunt, alii in devios montes vastasque solitudines fugiunt, ingenti per tota castra terrore diffuso; donec rex, tumultu cognito, legem de supplicio conjunctorum insontibus remittere edixit.

43. Philotas verone an mendacio liberare se a cruciatu voluerit, anceps conjectura est, quoniam et vera confessis et falsa dicentibus idem doloris finis ostenditur:[1] ceterum, Pater, inquit, meus Hegelocho quam familiariter usus sit, non ignoratis: illum dico Hegelochum, qui in acie cecidit:[2] omnium malorum nobis fuit causa. Nam cum primum Jovis filium se salutari jussit[3] rex, id indigne ferens ille, hunc igitur regem agnoscimus, inquit, qui Philippum dedignatur[4] patrem? actum est de nobis, si ista perpeti possumus. Non homines solum, sed etiam deos despicit, qui postulat deus credi.[5] Amisimus Alexandrum, amisimus regem; incidimus in superbiam, nec diis, quibus se exaequat, nec hominibus, quibus se eximit, tolerabilem. Nostrone sanguine deum fecimus, qui nos fastidiat? qui gravetur mortalium adire concilium? Credite mihi, et nos, si viri sumus, a diis

[1] This is a very striking remark, and clearly shows the absurdity of the use of torture as a means of eliciting information or obtaining a confession.

[2] Probably in the battle of Arbela, as commander of one of the eight troops of Macedonian knights.

[3] We expect the pluperfect, because this action is completed before the next begins; but see *Gram.* § 334.

[4] 'Considers Philip unworthy to be his father.'

[5] As to this construction of *postulare*, see Zumpt, § 613, note.

adoptabimur. Quis proavum hujus Alexandrum, quis deinde Archelaum, quis Perdiccam occisos ultus est? hic quidem interfectoribus patris ignovit.[1] Haec Hegelochus dixit super coenam:[2] et postero die prima luce a patre accersor. Tristis erat, et me maestum videbat. Audieramus enim, quae sollicitudinem incuterent. Itaque ut experiremur utrumne[3] vino gravatus effudisset illa, an altiore concepta consilio, accersi eum placuit. Venit: eodemque sermone ultro repetito adjecit, se, sive auderemus duces esse, proximas a nobis partes vindicaturum, sive deesset animus, consilium silentio esse tecturum. Parmenioni vivo adhuc Dareo intempestiva res videbatur: non enim sibi, sed hosti, esse occisuros Alexandrum: Dareo vero sublato, praemium regis occisi Asiam et totum Orientem interfectoribus esse cessura.[4] Approbatoque consilio, in haec fides et data est et accepta. Quod ad Dimnum pertinet, nihil scio, et haec confessus intelligo non prodesse mihi, quod proximi sceleris expers sum. Illi rursus tormentis admotis, cum ipsis quoque hastis os oculosque ejus everberarent, expressere, ut hoc quoque crimen confiteretur. Exigentibus deinde, ut ordinem cogitati sceleris exponeret, cum diu Bactra retentura regem viderentur, timuisse respondit, ne pater LXX natus annos, tanti exercitus dux, tantae pecuniae custos, interim extingueretur, ipsique, spoliato tantis viribus, occidendi regis causa[5] non esset. Festinasse ergo se, dum praemium in manibus haberet, repraesentare[6] consilium, cujus patrem expertem fuisse nisi crederent, tormenta, quamquam jam tolerare non posset, tamen non recusare. Illi collocuti satis quaesitum videri, ae regem revertuntur.

44. Qui postero die et quae confessus erat Philotas recitari, et ipsum, quia ingredi non poterat, jussit afferri. Omnia agnoscente eo, Demetrius, qui proximi sceleris particeps esse arguebatur, producitur. Multa affirmatione animique pariter constantia et vultus abnuens, quicquam sibi in regem cogitatum esse, tormenta etiam deposcebat in semetipsum: cum Philotas, circumlatis oculis, ut incidere in Calin quemdam haud procul stantem, propius eum jussit accedere.[7] Illo

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[1] This can refer only to that which is related (vii. 1) regarding Alexander Lyncestes.

[2] 'During dinner,' See Zumpt, § 320.

[3] See iii. 17; iv. 35; *Gram.* § 197, 10, note 1; and 353, note 4.

[4] It might also have been *cessurum*, referring to *Orientem*, the nearest subject. See *Gram.* § 239, *b*, note.

[5] Equivalent to *ratio*, 'a possibility,' 'a definite or practicable plan,' the French *raison*.

[6] 'To carry into execution.'

[7] The construction is, *Demetrius deposcebat tormenta, cum Philotas*

perturbato et recusante transire ad eum, Patieris, inquit, Demetrium mentiri, rursusque me excruciari? Calin vox sanguisque defecerant: et Macedones Philotam inquinare innoxios ville suspicabantur, quia nec a Nicomacho, nec ab ipso Philota, cum torqueretur, nominatus esset[1] adolescens. Qui ut praefectos regis circumstantes se vidit, Demetrium et semetipsum id facinus cogitasse confessus est.[2] Omnes ergo a Nicomacho nominati, more patrio, dato signo, saxis obruti sunt. Magno non salutis, sed etiam invidiae[3] periculo liberatus erat Alexander, quippe Parmenio et Philotas, principes amicorum, nisi palam sontes, sine indignatione totius exercitus non potuissent damnari. Itaque anceps quaestio fuit:[4] dum infitiatus est facinus, crudeliter torqueri videbatur, post confessionem Philotas ne amicorum quidem misericordiam meruit.

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jussit. The principal statement is introduced by *cum* with the perfect (or present). See Zumpt, § 580. *Ut incidere* (for *inciderunt*) *oculi*, 'when his eyes alighted upon.'

[1] 'Had been named.' The subjunctive is used, because this was the reason assigned (or conceived) by the Macedonians themselves.

[2] Here we have a confirmation of a remark which Curtius formerly (see chap. 37 *ad fin.*) put into the mouth of Philotas, *nemini parcit moriturus*.

[3] 'From a great danger of incurring hatred.'

[4] 'The investigation presented itself in two lights or aspects.'



Macedonian Stater.

LIBER VII.

(1) After the trial of Philotas and his fellow-conspirators, Alexander the Lyncestian, who had been long imprisoned as a traitor, is, at the desire of the army, brought forward, and being unable to defend himself satisfactorily, is put to death. (2) After this Amyntas and one of his brothers are placed on their trial, because Alexander has many grounds of suspicion against them. (3) Amyntas prepares undauntedly for his defence, and in the first place asks pardon for any hasty and casual expressions of anger at the king. (4) Then he justifies his friendly connection with Philotas, alleging that the king himself was the real cause of it. (5) He accounts for his violent conduct towards the secretary to the cavalry; and declares that he has drawn down the ill-will of Olympias by his military zeal. (6) In the meantime Polemo, the younger brother of Amyntas, who had escaped, is brought in. Amyntas reproaches him. Polemo, weeping, acknowledges that he deserves punishment, but at the same time asserts the innocence of his brothers. The assembly is moved, and Alexander generously acquits all three brothers. (7) Polydamas, an acquaintance of Parmenio, is summoned to the king, and sent to Media, intrusted with orders to the generals there to put Parmenio to death. (8) Riding on a camel, Polydamas completes the journey in eleven days. The generals who have been ordered to kill Parmenio execute the command while he is reading his letters in a grove near his residence. (9) The troops of Parmenio are with difficulty restrained from mutiny, and the generals are forced to allow them to bury the headless trunk. Curtius considers it uncertain whether the old commander was innocent or guilty. (10) Of those who are discontented at Parmenio's execution a separate cohort is formed, which distinguishes itself greatly in the war. (11) Alexander marches out of Drangiana into the country of the Arimaspi or Euergetae. He sends off, however, a detachment against Satibarzanes, who has again assumed a hostile attitude in Ariana. Alexander, after a stay of sixty days among the Euergetae, subdues the Arachosii. (12) He enters the rugged mountain territory of the Parapamisadae. (13) During this march, the soldiers suffer under extreme cold and hunger. (14) The lofty range of Caucasus is crossed; at the foot of it a city is founded, and called Alexandria. (15) Bessus holds a council of war at a feast, and announces it as his plan to retire beyond the Oxus, and, with the aid of the neighbouring tribes (who were distinguished as cavalry), to carry

on the war in Sogdiana. (16) Cobares, a Magus, warns him of the folly of his design, and recommends him to submit to the irresistible conqueror: after giving this fruitless advice, he deserts to the army of Alexander. (17) The Bactrian troops disperse, when Bessus, with a body of his immediate dependants, crosses the Oxus. Alexander, after enduring great privations on the Caucasus, advances unresisted into Bactriana. (18) This country, on the north of the Parapamisus, exhibits very varied natural characteristics, being partly a sandy desert, partly fruitful, well cultivated, and densely populated. (19) During Alexander's stay in the capital, Bactra, he receives, among other news, intelligence that Satibarzanes had been defeated in single combat by the old Macedonian general Erigyius, and that the revolt of the Arii had been crushed. (20) Artabazus is made satrap of Bactriana. Alexander marches from Bactra through the desert to the Oxus: during this march the soldiers suffer much from heat and thirst. (21) When they arrive at the Oxus, many die from drinking immoderately of the water. The army crosses the river by means of stuffed bags. (22) Alexander receives the intelligence that Bessus had been surprised, and thrown into chains, by his false friend Spitamenes. (23) The Branchidae, who, after having acted traitorously towards the Milesians, had followed Xerxes into the interior of Persia, are exterminated, and their town is levelled with the ground. (24) While Alexander is continuing his march, Spitamenes brings Bessus to him in chains. Bessus is handed over to the brother of Darius, to be put to death. (25) In a fight with some hostile barbarians, Alexander is wounded; the barbarians, from admiration of his prowess, surrender themselves. Alexander, travelling in a litter, which is borne alternately by the Macedonian cavalry and infantry, comes to Maracanda. (26) He is prevented from executing his intention to found a new frontier town on the Jaxartes, by a revolt of the Sogdiani, which is favoured by Spitamenes. (27) Cyropolis is besieged and destroyed, also the city of the Memaceni: during an assault upon the latter town, Alexander is severely wounded in the neck by a stone. (27) He builds Alexandria on the Tanais in seventeen days, and settles inhabitants in it. (29) The king of the Scythians beyond the Jaxartes sends an army of cavalry against the Macedonians and their new city. Alexander laments his being compelled to remain inactive. (30) At his command, Aristander endeavours to ascertain the will of the gods by sacrifices. In the meantime he holds a council of war, in which he shows the necessity of attacking the Scythians. (31) The generals oppose his proposal; Erigyius brings forward as an argument the unfavourable issue of the sacrifices; the king, ashamed and angry, reproaches Aristander, who soon returns with prosperous prognostications. (32) The intelligence arrives that a corps of Macedonians, with Menedemus at its head, had been almost annihilated near Maracanda. Alexander

orders this disaster to be concealed from the army. (33) He shows himself to the soldiers in his armour, and thereby excites their spirits, so that they eagerly prepare to cross the Jaxartes. Ambassadors come from the Scythians to the camp, and deliver an oration (34, 35), in which they reproach the king for excessive ambition, and admonish him not to entertain the foolish idea, that the good fortune which has hitherto attended him will favour him if he attacks the free Scythians. (36) Alexander, notwithstanding the opposition of the Scythians, succeeds in crossing the Jaxartes in a manner previously arranged. (37) He defeats the enemy, and gives orders to pursue them so long as the day permits. (38) This victory, and an instance of Alexander's clemency which follows it, induce the Scythians to apply for terms of peace. Alexander hastens to Maracanda, forces Spitamenes to flee, and causes the army which follows him to punish the rebels. (39) This part of Sogdiana was the fruitful district on the river Polytimetus. Thirty leading Sogdianians are condemned to death, but are pardoned, and show by their subsequent faithful conduct that they have merited the royal favour. (40) Peucolaus is left behind with a troop, to guard the province. Alexander takes up his winter-quarters (winter of 329–328 B.C.) in Bactra, and obtains supplements of troops. He then breaks up and marches to Margania, subdues the district, and builds six cities. (41) Arimazes, who has taken possession of an impregnable rock, still stands out against Alexander. Three hundred chosen soldiers are called for by the king to climb to the summit (42), which they accomplish. (43) Terrified by the sight of these, and by a movement of the army as if for an assault, Arimazes surrenders, but, on account of his pride and self-confidence, is put to death.

PHILOTAN sicut recentibus sceleris ejus vestigiis[1] jure affectum supplicio censuerant milites, ita, postquam desierat esse quem odissent, invidia in misericordiam vertit.[2] Moverat et claritas juvenis, et patris ejus senectus atque orbitas. Primus Asiam aperuerat regi, omnium periculorum ejus particeps, semper alterum in acie cornu defenderat,[3] Philippo quoque ante omnes amicus et ipsi Alexandro tam fidus, ut occidendi Attalum[4] non alio ministro uti mallet. Horum cogitatio subibat exercitum, seditiosaeque voces referebantur ad regem.

[1] 'Whilst the traces of his guilt are still fresh.'

[2] 'Turned itself;' equivalent to *se vertit* or *versa-est*. See *Gram.* § 139, note 1.

[3] 'Had commanded.' *Tueri* is more frequently used in this sense than *defendere*.

[4] Regarding this opponent of Alexander, see vi. 34. The event which is here alluded to happened immediately after Alexander's succession to the throne.

Quis ille haud sane motus, satisque prudens, otii vitia negotio discuti, edicit, ut omnes in vestibulo regiae praesto sint. Quos ubi frequentes adesse cognovit, in contionem processit. Haud dubie ex composito Atharrias postulare coepit, ut Lyncestes[1] Alexander, qui multo ante quam Philotas regem voluisset occidere, exhiberetur.[2] A duobus indicibus, sicut supra diximus, delatus, tertium jam annum custodiebatur in vinculis. Eundem in Philippi quoque caedem conjurasse cum Pausania, pro comperto fuit; sed quia primus Alexandrum regem salutaverat, supplicio magis quam crimini fuerat exemptus. Tunc quoque Antipatri soceri ejus preces justam regis iram morabantur. Ceterum recruduit soporatus dolor: quippe veteris periculi memoriam praesentis cura renovabat. Igitur Alexander ex custodia educitur, jussusque dicere, quamquam toto triennio meditatus erat defensionem, tamen haesitans et trepidus pauca ex his, quae composuerat, protulit, ad ultimum non memoria solum, sed etiam mens eum destituit. Nulli erat dubium, quin trepidatio conscientiae indicium esset, non memoriae vitium. Itaque ex his, qui proximi astiterant, obluctantem adhuc oblivioni lanceis confoderunt.[3]

2. Cujus corpore ablato, rex introduci jussit Amyntam et Simmiam: nam Polemon, minimus ex fratribus, cum Philotam torqueri comperisset, profugerat. Omnium Philotae amicorum hi carissimi fuerant, ad magna et honorata ministeria illius maxime suffragatione producti; memineratque rex, summo studio ab eo conciliatos[4] sibi, nec dubitabat, hujus quoque ultimi consilii fuisse[5] participes. Igitur, olim sibi esse suspectos matris suae litteris, quibus esset admonitus, ut ab his salutem suam tueretur. Ceterum se invitum deteriora credentem, nunc manifestis indiciis victum, jussisse vinciri. Nam pridie quam detegeretur Philotae scelus, quin secreto[6] cum eo fuissent, non posse dubitari. Fratrem vero, qui profugerit, cum de Philota quaereretur, aperuisse fugae causam. Nuper praeter[7] consuetudinem, officii specie, amotis

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[1] A name of a tribe or race. A district of Macedonia was called Lyncestis.

[2] 'Should be brought forward' to trial, or rather perhaps to condemnation.

[3] Supply out of *ex his qui astiterant* 'some,' *aliquot*, *nonnulli*, as nominative to *confoderunt*.

[4] Equivalent to *commendatos*, 'recommended.' In the fourth chapter, *traditus* is used in the same sense.

[5] As to *non dubito* followed by the accusative with the infinitive, see *Gram.* § 352, note 4.

[6] This is in reality the ablative singular neuter of *secretus*, used adverbially. See *Gram.* § 219, *b*.

[7] Equivalent to *contra*. See Zumpt, § 302.

longius ceteris, admovisse semetipsos lateri suo, nulla probabili causa: seque mirantem, quod non vice sua tali fungerentur officio, et ipsa trepidatione eorum perterritum, strenue ad armigeros, qui proxime sequebantur, recessisse. Ad haec accedere, quod cum Antiphanes, scriba equitum, Amyntae denuntiasset, pridie quam Philotae scelus deprehensum esset, ut ex suis equis more solito daret his qui amisissent, superbe respondisse, nisi incepto desisteret, brevi sciturum quis ipse esset. Jam linguae violentiam temeritatemque verborum,[1] quae in semetipsum jacularentur, nihil aliud esse, quam scelesti animi indicem ac testem. Quae si vera essent, idem meruisse eos, quod Philotam, si falsa, exigere ipsum, ut refellant. Productus deinde Antiphanes, de equis non traditis et adjectis etiam superbe minis indicat.

3. Tum Amyntas, facta dicendi potestate, Si nihil, inquit, interest regis, peto, ut, dum dico, vinculis liberer. Rex solvi utrumque jubet: desideranti que Amyntae, ut habitus[2] quoque redderetur armigeri, lanceam dari jussit. Quam ut laeva comprehendit, evitato eo loco, in quo Alexandri corpus paulo ante jacuerat, Qualiscunque, inquit, exitus nos manet, rex, confitemur, prosperum tibi debituros,[3] tristiorem fortunae imputaturos. Sine praejudicio[4] dicimus causam, liberis corporibus animisque. Habitum etiam, in quo te comitari solemus, reddidisti. Causam non possumus, fortunam timere desinemus. Et quaeso, permittas mihi id primum defendere, quod a te ultimum objectum est. Nos, rex, sermonis adversus majestatem tuam habiti nullius conscii sumus nobis.[5] Dicerem jampridem vicisse te invidiam,[6] nisi periculum esset, ne alia malignius[7] dicta crederes blanda oratione purgari. Ceterum etiamsi militis tui vel in agmine deficientis et fatigati, vel in acie periclitantis, vel in tabernaculo aegri et vulnera curantis, aliqua vox asperior esset accepta,[8] merueramus fortibus factis, ut malles ea tempori nostro imputare, quam animo. Cum quid accidit tristius, omnes rei sunt,[9] corporibus nostris, quae utique[10] non odimus, infestas admovemus manus:

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[1] 'Violent and rash expressions or language.'

[2] 'Outfit,' here 'arms.'

[3] Supply *nos* out of the previous clause.

[4] 'Without being prejudged.' He means that, when in chains and deprived of his arms, he had seemed as if already condemned.

[5] As to the construction of *conscius*, see *Gram.* § 277, 2, note 2.

[6] That is, 'that you are above envious words.'

[7] In this comparative is implied the sense of 'too;' namely, by supplying *quam par est*, 'more malignantly than is right or fair.'

[8] Namely, *auribus;* equivalent, therefore, to *audita*.

[9] 'All are accused;' that is, 'we blame and accuse every one.'

[10] 'At all events.'

parentes liberis si occurrant, et ingrati et invisi sunt. Contra cum donis honoramur, cum praemiis onusti revertimur, quis ferre nos potest?[1] quis illam animorum alacritatem continere? Militantium nec indignatio, nec laetitia moderata est. Ad omnes affectus impetu rapimur. Vituperamus, laudamus, miseremur, irascimur, utcunque praesens movit affectio: modo Indiam adire et Oceanum libet, modo conjugum et liberorum patriaeque memoria occurrit. Sed has cogitationes, has inter se colloquentium voces,[2] signum tuba datum finit: in suos quisque ordines currimus, et quicquid irarum in tabernaculo conceptum est in hostium effunditur capita. Utinam Philotas quoque intra verba peccasset! Proinde ad id praevertas, propter quod rei sumus.

4. Amicitiam, quae nobis cum Philota fuit, adeo non eo infitias,[3] ut expetisse quoque nos, magnosque ex eo fructus percepisse confitear. An vero Parmenionis, quem tibi proximum esse voluisti, filium, omnes paene amicos tuos dignatione[4] vincentem, cultum a nobis esse miraris? Tu hercule, si verum audire vis, rex, hujus nobis periculi es causa. Quis enim alius effecit, ut ad Philotam decurrerent qui placere vellent tibi? Ab illo traditi ad hunc gradum amicitiae tuae ascendimus. Is apud te fuit, cujus gratiam expetere, et iram timere possemus.[5] An non propemodum in tua verba[6] tui omnes te praeeunte juravimus, eosdem nos inimicos amicosque habituros esse, quos tu haberes? Hoc sacramento pietatis obstricti aversaremur scilicet,[7] quem tu omnibus praeferebas! Igitur, si hoc crimen est, paucos innocentes habes: immo hercule neminem. Omnes enim Philotae amici esse voluerunt, sed totidem, quot volebant esse, non poterant. Ita, si a consciis amicos non dividis, ne ab amicis quidem separabis illos, qui idem esse voluerunt. Quod igitur conscientiae affertur indicium? Ut opinor, quia pridie familiariter et sine arbitris locutus est nobiscum! At ego purgare non possem, si pridie quicquam ex vetere vita ac

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[1] 'Who can bear us?' that is, 'who can endure our boasting and lofty ideas of our own merits, or to whom are these not burdensome?'

[2] 'These expressions,' or 'this kind of language.'

[3] A phrase equivalent to *infitior, ari.* See *Gram.* § 80, 5, note 1.

[4] 'Honour or distinction;' *quod tu eum dignabaris.*

[5] For the construction of the relative with the subjunctive here, see *Gram.* § 360, 3.

[6] *In alicujus verba jurare* means 'to take an oath of fidelity to any one;' the term *verba* means here the formula of the oath.

[7] Ironical: 'it was our duty no doubt to despise him whom you preferred to all!' The principle of the subjunctive here is the same as in the case of *Gram.* § 349.

more mutassem. Nunc vero, si, ut omnibus diebus, illo quoque, qui suspectus est, fecimus, consuetudo diluet crimen.

5. Sed[1] equos Antiphani non dedimus! et pridie quam Philotas detectus est, haec mihi cum Antiphane res erat! qui si nos suspectos facere vult, quod illo die equos non dederimus, semetipsum, quod eos desideraverit, purgare non poterit. Anceps enim crimen est inter retinentem et exigentem; nisi quod melior est causa suum non tradentis, quam poscentis alienum. Ceterum, rex, equos decem habui, e quibus Antiphanes octo jam distribuerat his, qui amiserant suos. Omnino[2] duos ipse habebam: quos cum vellet abducere homo superbissimus, certe iniquissimus, nisi pedes militare vellem, retinere cogebar. Nec infitias eo, liberi hominis animo locutum esse me cum ignavissimo, et hoc unum militiae suae usurpante, ut alienos equos pugnaturis distribuat. Huc enim malorum ventum est, ut verba mea eodem tempore et Alexandro excusem, et Antiphani. At hercule mater de nobis inimicis tuis scripsit! Utinam prudentius esset sollicita pro filio, et non[3] inanes quoque species anxio animo figuraret. Quare enim non adscribit metus sui causam? denique non ostendit auctorem? Quo facto dictove nostro mota tam trepidas tibi litteras scripsit? O miseram condicionem meam, quia forsitan non periculosius est tacere, quam dicere! Sed utcunque cessura res est, malo tibi defensionem meam displicere, quam causam. Agnosces autem quae dicturus sum; quippe meministi, cum me ad perducendos ex Macedonia milites mitteres, dixisse te, multos integros[4] juvenes in domo tuae matris abscondi. Praecepisti igitur mihi, ne quem praeter te intuerer, sed detrectantes militiam perducerem ad te. Quod equidem feci, et liberius, quam expediebat mihi, executus sum tuum imperium. Gorgiam, Hecataeum et Gorgatan, quorum bona opera uteris, inde perduxi. Quid igitur iniquius est, quam me, qui, si tibi non paruissem, jure daturus fui[5] poenas, nunc perire quia parui? Neque enim ulla alia matri tuae persequendi nos causa est, quam quod utilitatem tuam muliebri praeposuimus gratiae. Sex milia Macedonum peditum et DC equites adduxi, quorum pars secutura me non erat, si militiam detrectantibus indulgere voluissem. Sequitur ergo, ut,

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[1] The conjunction ought properly to be *at*. See Zumpt, § 349.

[2] 'In all,' or, a sense which with numerals it often has 'only.'

[3] For the use and force of *et non* introducing a clause, see Zumpt, § 781.

[4] 'Sound,' 'fit for service.'

[5] Equivalent to *dedissem:* near the end of the chapter, *secutura erat* stands for *secuta esset*. See *Gram.* §§ 149, and 346, 1.

quia illa propter hanc causam irascitur nobis, tu mitiges matrem, qui irae ejus nos obtulisti.

6. Dum haec Amyntas agit, forte supervenerunt, qui fratrem ejus Polemonem, de quo ante est dictum fugientem consecuti vinctum reducebant. Infesta contio vix inhiberi potuit, quin protinus suo more saxa in eum jaceret. Atque ille sane interritus, Nihil, inquit, pro me deprecor, modo ne fratrum innocentiae fuga imputetur mea. Haec si defendi non potest, meum crimen sit. Horum ob id ipsum melior est causa, quod ego, qui profugi, suspectus sum. At[1] haec elocuto universa contio assensa est: lacrimae deinde omnibus manare coeperunt, adeo in contrarium repente mutatis. ut solum pro eo esset, quod maxime laeserat. Juvenis erat primo aetatis flore pubescens,[2] quem inter equites tormentis Philotae conturbatos alienus terror[3] abstulerat: desertum eum a comitibus, et haesitantem inter revertendi fugiendique consilium qui secuti erant occupaverunt. Is tum flere coepit et os suum converberare, maestus non suam vicem,[4] sed propter ipsum periclitantium fratrum. Moveratque jam regem quoque, non contionem modo, sed unus erat implacabilis frater, qui terribili vultu intuens eum, Tum, ait, demens, lacrimare debueras, cum equo calcaria subderes, fratrum desertor et desertorum comes. Miser, quo et unde fugiebas? Effecisti, ut reus capitis accusatoris uterer verbis. Ille, peccasse se, sed gravius in fratres, quam in semetipsum, fatebatur. Tum vero neque lacrimis, neque acclamationibus, quibus studia sua multitudo profitetur, temperaverunt.[5] Una vox erat pari emissa consensu, ut insontibus et fortibus viris parceret. Amici quoque, data misericordiae occasione, consurgunt, flentesque regem deprecantur. Ille silentio facto, Et ipse,[6] inquit, Amyntam mea sententia fratresque ejus absolvo. Vos autem, juvenes, malo beneficii mei oblivisci, quam periculi vestri meminisse. Eadem fide redite in gratiam mecum, qua ipse vobiscum revertor. Nisi quae delata essent excussissem,[7] valde dissimulatio mea suspecta esse potuisset. Sed satius est purgatos esse, quam suspectos. Cogitate, neminem absolvi posse, nisi qui dixerit causam.

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[1] 'But,' to indicate the contrary result.

[2] 'Entering upon manhood;' literally, 'one whose beard is beginning to grow.'

[3] Equivalent to *terror aliorum*, 'the terror felt by others.'

[4] Regarding this accusative, see Zumpt, § 453.

[5] For the construction of *tempero*, see *Gram.* § 264, note 2.

[6] Equivalent to *ipse quoque*.

[7] 'Examined into' or 'tried.'

Tu, Amynta, ignosce fratri tuo. Erit hoc simpliciter[1] etiam mihi reconciliati animi tui pignus.

7. Contione deinde dimissa, Polydamanta vocari jubet. Longe acceptissimus Parmenioni erat, proximus lateri in acie stare solitus. Et quamquam conscientia fretus in regiam venerat, tamen, ut jussus est fratres suos exhibere, admodum[2] juvenes et regi ignotos ob aetatem, fiducia in sollicitudinem versa, trepidare coepit, saepius quae nocere possent, quam quibus se tueretur, reputans. Jam armigeri, quibus imperatum erat, produxerant eos, cum exsanguem metu Polydamanta propius accedere jubet: submotisque omnibus, Scelere, inquit, Parmenionis omnes pariter appetiti sumus, maxime ego ac tu, quos amicitiae specie fefellit. Ad quem persequendum puniendumque (vide quantum fidei tuae credam) te ministro uti statui. Obsides, dum hoc peragis, erunt fratres tui. Proficiscere in Mediam, et ad praefectos meos litteras scriptas manu mea perfer. Velocitate opus est, qua celeritatem famae antecedas. Noctu pervenire illuc te volo, postero die, quae scripta erunt, exequi. Ad Parmenionem quoque epistolas feres, unam a me, alteram Philotae nomine scriptam. Signum anuli ejus in mea potestate est. Si pater credet a filio impressum, cum te videret, nihil metuet.

8. Polydamas, tanto liberatus metu, impensius etiam[3] quam exigebatur, promittit operam. Collaudatusque et promissis oneratus, deposita veste, quam habebat, Arabica induitur.[4] Duo Arabes, quorum interim conjuges ac liberi, vinculum fidei, obsides apud regem erant, dati comites. Per deserta etiam ob siccitatem loca, camelis undecima die,[5] quo destinaverat, perveniunt. Et prius quam ipsius nuntiaretur adventus, rursus Polydamas vestem Macedonicam sumit, et in tabernaculum Cleandri (praetor hic regius erat) quarta vigilia pervenit. Redditis deinde litteris, constituerunt prima luce ad Parmenionem coire.[6] Namque ceteri quoque, quibus litteras regis attulerat, ad eum venturi erant. Jam Parmenioni Polydamanta venisse nuntiaverunt. Qui dum laetatur adventu amici, simulque noscendi, quae rex ageret, avidus (quippe longo intervallo nullam ab eo epistolam acceperat), Polydamanta requiri jubet. Diversoria regionis illius mag-

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[1] 'Completely,' 'unreservedly,' connected with *reconciliati.*

[2] 'Rather;' not so strong as *valde,* 'very.'

[3] 'Still more zealously or emphatically.' See Zumpt, § 486.

[4] 'He dresses himself in.'

[5] This was a remarkably rapid journey, one which could only be performed with very swift camels. With ordinary camels the time occupied was from thirty to forty days.

[6] Not only these two, but also the others, who are mentioned in the next sentence.

nos recessus habent amoenosque nemoribus manu consitis;[1] praecipue regum satraparumque voluptas erat. Spatiabatur in nemore Parmenion medius inter duces, quibus erat imperatum litteris regis, ut occiderent. Agendae autem rei constituerant tempus, cum Parmenion a Polydamante litteras traditas legere coepisset. Polydamas procul veniens, ut a Parmenione conspectus est, vultu laetitiae speciem praeferente, ad complectendum eum cucurrit; mutuaque gratulatione functi, Polydamas epistolam a rege scriptam ei tradidit. Parmenion vinculum epistolae solvens, quidnam rex ageret? requirebat. Ille ex ipsis litteris cogniturum esse respondit. Quibus Parmenion lectis, Rex, inquit, expeditionem parat in Arachosios. Strenuum hominem et nunquam cessantem![2] Sed tempus saluti suae, tanta jam parta gloria, parcere. Alteram deinde epistolam, Philotae nomine scriptam laetus, quod ex vultu notari poterat, legebat. Tum ejus latus gladio haurit[3] Cleander, deinde jugulum ferit; ceteri exanimum quoque confodiunt.

9. Et armigeri, qui ad aditum nemoris astiterant, cognita caede, cujus causa ignorabatur, in castra perveniunt, et tumultuoso nuntio milites concitant. Illi armati ad nemus, in quo perpetrata caedes erat, coëunt: et, ni Polydamas ceterique ejusdem noxae participes dedantur, murum circumdatum nemori eversuros[4] denuntiant, omniumque sanguine duci parentaturos.[5] Cleander primores eorum intromitti jubet, litterasque regis scriptas ad milites recitat, quibus insidiae Parmenionis in regem, precesque, ut ipsum vindicarent, continebantur. Igitur cognita regis voluntate non quidem indignatio, sed tamen seditio compressa est. Dilapsis pluribus pauci remanserunt, qui, saltem ut corpus ipsius sepelire permitterent, precabantur. Diu id negatum est, Cleandri metu, ne offenderet regem. Pertinacius deinde precantibus, materiem consternationis[6] subtrahendam ratus, capite deciso truncum humare permisit. Ad regem caput missum est. Hic exitus Parmenionis fuit, militiae domique

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[1] 'The quarters (dwellings) in that country (Media) have extensive recesses (places of retirement) which are adorned with artificial groves.' *Amoenus* is always applied to natural beauty; and here, though it was man indeed who planted the groves, still he merely caused nature to act in a particular direction.

[2] For the explanation of this accusative, see *Gram.* § 258.

[3] 'Pierces.' The word implies thrusting in the sword as far as he could.

[4] Supply *se*, a very common omission with our author.

[5] *Parentare alicui*, 'to make an offering to the dead,' then 'to avenge the death of a person.'

[6] Equivalent to *tumultus*, stronger than *seditionis*.

clari viri. Multa sine rege prospere, rex sine illo nihil magnae rei gesserat. Felicissimo regi, et omnia ad fortunae suae exigenti modum,[1] satisfecit. LXX natus annos, juvenis ducis et saepe etiam gregarii militis munia explevit: acer consilio, manu strenuus, carus principibus, vulgo militum acceptior. Haec impulerint ilum ad regni cupiditatem, an tantum suspectum fecerint, ambigi potest, quia Philotas ultimis cruciatibus victus verane dixerit, quae facta probari non poterant, an falsis[2] tormentorum petierit finem, re quoque recenti, cum magis posset liquere, dubitatum est.

10. Alexander, quos libere mortem Parmenionis conquestos esse compererat, separandos a cetero exercitu ratus, in unam cohortem secrevit, ducemque his Leonidam dedit, et ipsum Parmenioni quondam intima familiaritate conjunctum. Fere iidem erant, quos alioquin rex habuerat invisos.[3] Nam cum experiri Vellet militum animos, admonuit, qui litteras in Macedoniam ad suos scripsisset, his, quos ipse mittebat, perlaturis cum fide, traderet. Simpliciter ad necessarios suos[4] quisque scripserat, quae sentiebat: aliis gravis erat, plerisque non ingrata militia. Ita et agentium gratias et querentium litterae exceptae sunt. Et qui forte taedium laboris per litteras erant questi, hanc seorsus[5] cohortem a ceteris tendere ignominiae causa jubet, fortitudine usurus in bello libertatem linguae ab auribus credulis remoturus. Et consilium, temerarium forsitan (quippe fortissimi juvenes contumeliis irritati erant), sicut omnia alia felicitas regis excepit.[6] Nihil illis ad bella promptius fuit. Incitabat virtutem et ignominiae demendae cupido, et quia fortia facta in paucis latere non poterant.

11. His ita compositis, Alexander, Arianorum satrape constituto, iter pronuntiari jubet in Arimaspos,[7] quos jam tunc mutato nomine Euergetas appellabant, ex quo frigore victusqua penuria Cyri exercitum affectum tectis et commeatibus juverant. Quintus dies erat, ut in eam regionem pervenerat. Cognoscit Satibarzanem, qui ad Bessum defecerat, cum equitum manu irrupisse rursus in Arios. Itaque Cara-

[1] 'Who judged of everything according to the measure of his own good fortune.'

[2] 'By false confessions.'

[3] 'Who had been hated by the king on other accounts.' *Habeo te invisum* for *mihi invisus es*.

[4] 'Acquaintances:' not equivalent to *propinqui*. *Necessarii* are persons with whom we keep up a connection.

[5] 'Separately.' For the derivation of this and similar adverbs, see *Gram.* § 224.

[6] 'Followed or accompanied.'

[7] A tribe on the river Etymander, the modern Hilmend.

num et Erigyium cum Artabazo et Andronico et sex milibus Graecorum peditum DC equites sequebantur. Ipse LX diebus gentem Euergetarum ordinavit, magna pecunia ob egregiam in Cyrum fidem donata. Relicto deinde, qui iis praeesset, Amedine (scriba is Darei fuerat), Arachosios,[1] quorum regio ad Ponticum mare pertinet, subegit. Ibi exercitus, qui sub Parmenione fuerat, occurrit. Sex milia Macedonum erant et CC nobiles et quinque milia Graecorum cum equitibus DC, haud dubie robur omnium virium regis. Arachosiis datus Menon praetor, IV milibus peditum et DC equitibus in praesidium relictis.

12. Ipse rex nationem, ne finitimis quidem satis notam, quippe nullo commercio volentem mutuos usus, cum exercitu intravit. Parapamisadae appellantur, agreste hominum genus, et inter barbaros maxime inconditum. Locorum asperitas hominum quoque ingenia duraverat. Gelidissimum Septentrionis axem[2] ex magna parte spectant; Bactrianis ad Occidentem[3] conjuncti sunt; meridiana regio ad mare Indicum vergit. Tuguria latere primo struunt,[4] et quia sterilis est terra materia, in nudo etiam montis dorso, usque ad summum aedificiorum fastigium eodem laterculo utuntur. Ceterum structura latior ab imo paulatim incremento operis in artius cogitur,[5] ad ultimum in carinae maxime modum coit. Ibi foramine relicto superne lumen admittunt. Vites et arbores, si quae in tanto terrae rigore durare potuerunt,

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[1] The situation of places in this part of Asia, which has as yet been very rarely visited by travellers, is extremely uncertain. The country of Arachosia extended towards the north as far as the mountain district of the Parapamisadae, and towards the east as far as the territory on this side the Indus, which was inhabited by Indians. The town now called Kandahar is supposed to have been built by Alexander, its name being believed to be a corruption of *Alexandria*. On no side did Arachosia reach to the Pontic Sea; but if we include in Arachosia the intervening district of Gedrosia, it extended to the Indian Ocean: therefore for *Ponticum* we ought probably to read *Indicum*.

[2] The *Septentrionis axis* is the north pole: 'the Parapamisadae look (lie) towards the north, nay, towards the coldest quarter of it.' The idea that Alexander had, by crossing the Caucasus (in the winter or spring of 329 B.C.), and making a long march, reached the northern extremity of the world, indicates great ignorance in Curtius, or rather in his Greek authorities, and in the Macedonians themselves.

[3] At least the north-west.

[4] 'They build their huts at first (at the foundation) of brick (not of quarry stone, *lapis*), and, from want of wood, they use brick also even to the roof.'

[5] 'The building, pretty broad at the bottom, is gradually contracted as the work increases, till at last it ends in a narrow ridge very like the keel of a ship.'

obruunt; penitus hieme defossae latent: cum nix discussa aperire humum coepit, coelo solique redduntur. Ceterum adeo altae nives premunt terram, gelu et perpetuo paene rigore constrictae, ut ne avium quidem feraeve ullius vestigium extet. Obscura coeli verius umbra quam lux,[1] noct similis, premit terram, vix ut quae prope sunt conspici possint.

13. In hac tamen omnis humani cultus solitudine destitutus[2] exercitus, quicquid malorum tolerari potest pertulit, inopiam, frigus, lassitudinem, desperationem. Multos exanimavit rigor insolitus nivis; multorum adussit[3] pedes: plurimorum oculis praecipue perniciabilis fuit. Fatigati quippe in ipso gelu deficientia corpora sternebant: quae cum moveri desissent, vis frigoris ita adstringebat, ut rursus ad surgendum conniti[4] non possent. A commilitonibus torpentes excitabantur: neque aliud remedium erat, quam ut ingredi cogerentur. Tum demum vitali calore moto, membris aliquis redibat vigor. Si qui tuguria barbarorum adire potuerunt, celeriter refecti sunt. Sed tanta caligo erat, ut aedificia nulla alia res quam fumus ostenderet. Illi nunquam ante in terris suis advena viso, cum armatos repente conspicerent, exanimati metu, quicquid in tuguriis erat afferebant, ut corporibus ipsorum parceretur orantes. Rex agmen circumibat pedes, jacentes quosdam erigens, et alios, cum aegre sequerentur, adminiculo corporis sui excipiens.[5] Nunc ad prima signa, nunc in medium,[6] nunc in ultimo agmine, itineris multiplicato labore aderat. Tandem ad loca cultiora perventum est, commeatuque largo recreatus exercitus: simul et qui consequi non potuerant, in illa castra venerunt.

14. Inde agmen processit ad Caucasum montem,[7] cujus dorsum Asiam perpetuo jugo dividit: hinc simul mare, quod Ciliciam subit, illinc Caspium fretum et amnem Araxem

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[1] Wittily said: 'their light, or, as it may be more truly called, shadowy obscure, half night, half day.' Classical writers speak of it as one of the main disadvantages of the northern regions, that the light is not pure and bright, but rather grayish.

[2] 'Left,' as it were, on a desert island.

[3] 'To be burnt,' and 'to be frost-bitten,' are expressed in Latin by the same word, *uri*, because the physical effects are the same.

[4] 'To exert themselves.'

[5] He assisted them, by causing them to lean upon him.

[6] This may be called ungrammatical, for *in medio;* but *aderat* implies the idea of 'going to' as well as 'being in' a place.

[7] This is the highest part of the range of Parapamisus. The Macedonians called it Caucasus, which, indeed, was probably a name given to it by the inhabitants of the countries about it, but which has caused these mountains to be confounded, or at least (as in this passage) to be considered as connected with the Caucasus, which is situated between the Black Sea and the Caspian.

aliaque regionis Scythiae deserta spectat. Taurus, secundae magnitudinis mons, committitur Caucaso, a Cappadocia se attollens Ciliciam praeterit, Armeniaeque montibus jungitur. Sic inter se juga velut serie cohaerentia perpetuum habent dorsum, ex quo Asiae omnia fere flumina, alia in Rubrum, alia in Caspium mare, alia in Hyrcanium et Ponticum decidunt.[1] XVII dierum spatio Caucasum superavit exercitus. Rupes in eo X in circuitu stadia complectitur, quattuor in altitudinem excedit, in qua vinctum Promethea[2] fuisse antiquitas tradit. Condendae in radicibus montis urbi sedes electa est. VII milibus seniorum Macedonum et praeterea militibus, quorum opera uti desisset,[3] permissum in novam urbem considere. Hanc quoque Alexandriam incolae appellaverunt.[4]

15. At Bessus, Alexandri celeritate perterritus, diis patriis sacrificio rite facto, sicut illis gentibus mos est, cum amicis ducibusque copiarum inter epulas de bello consultabat. Graves mero suas vires extollere, hostium nunc temeritatem, nunc paucitatem spernere incipiunt.[5] Praecipue Bessus, ferox[6] verbis, et parto per scelus regno superbus, ac vix potens mentis, dicere orditur, socordia Darei crevisse hostium famam Occurrisse enim in Ciliciae angustissimis faucibus, cum retrocedendo posset perducere incautos in loca naturae situ[7] invia, tot fluminibus objectis, tot montium latebris, inter quas deprehensus hostis, ne fugae quidem, nedum resistendi occasionem fuerit habiturus. Sibi placere in Sogdianos recedere, Oxum amnem velut murum objecturum hosti, dum ex finitimis gentibus valida auxilia concurrerent. Venturos

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[1] Some of the rivers flow southwards to the Indian Ocean; others northward to the Black Sea (*Pontus* or *Mare Ponticum*), or to the Caspian. Curtius himself has told us (vi. 12) that *Mare Caspium* and *Mare Hyrcanium*, are different names for the same sea. It is probable, therefore, that either the one name or the other in our text is an interpolation of some transcriber.

[2] For *Prometheum*. See *Gram.* § 58, note 9.

[3] *Opera alicujus uti desino*, 'I give up making use of the service of any one;' that is, 'I discharge him from my service.' *Desisset* indicates that had they not settled in his new city, he would have discharged them, as being too old, or in some other way incapacitated for service.

[4] This city is called, to distinguish it from others of the same name, *Alexandria ad Parapamisum*, or *sub Caucaso*. It was situated not far from the modern Cabul, celebrated for its admirable climate.

[5] *Coepi* and *incipio* have frequently little more force than merely to make the action of the verb which they govern more picturesque. *Orditur*, a little after, is used in the same way. See Zumpt, § 753.

[6] 'Bold,' 'self-confident.'

[7] Equivalent to *situ naturali*. Compare vi. 12.

autem Chorasmios et Dahas Sacasque et Indos et ultra Tanaim[1] amnem colentes Scythas, quorum neminem adeo humilem esse, ut humeri ejus non possent Macedonis militis verticem aequare. Conclamant temulenti, unam hanc sententiam salubrem esse: et Bessus circumferri merum largius jubet, debellaturus super mensam Alexandrum.

16. Erat in eo convivio Cobares, natione Medus, sed magicae artis (si modo ars est, non vanissimi cujusque ludibrium[2]) magis professione, quam scientia celeber, alioqui moderatus et probus. Is cum praefatus esset, scire servo utilius esse parere dicto, quam afferre consilium, cum illos, qui pareant, idem quod ceteros maneat, qui vero suadeant, proprium sibi periculum:[3] poculum etiam, quod habebat in manu, tradidit. Quo accepto Cobares, Natura, inquit, mortalium hoc quoque nomine prava et sinistra dici potest, quod in suo quisque negotio hebetior est, quam in alieno. Turbida[4] sunt consilia eorum, qui sibi suadent. Obstat metus, aliis cupiditas, nonnunquam naturalis eorum, quae excogitaveris, amor. Nam in te superbia non cadit. Expertus es, unumquemque, quod ipse reppererit, aut solum[5] aut optimum ducere. Magnum onus sustines capite, regum insigne. Hoc aut moderate perferendum est, aut, quod abominor,[6] in te ruet. Consilio, non impetu, opus est. Adjicit deinde, quod apud Bactrianos vulgo usurpabant, canem timidum vehementius latrare, quam mordere, altissima quaeque flumina minimo sono labi.[7] Quae inserui, ut qualiscunque inter barbaros potuit esse prudentia, traderetur. His audientium expectationem suspenderat.[8] Tum consilium aperit, utilius Besso, quam gratius. In vestibulo, inquit, regiae tuae velocissimus consistit rex. Ante ille agmen, quam tu mensam istam movebis.

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[1] He means the Jaxartes, which was called by Alexander's soldiers the Tanais, and confounded with that river (the modern Don).

[2] 'An amusement.'

[3] 'Since a danger peculiar to themselves awaits those who give advice.' For *sibi*, the more correct pronoun would be *ipsis*. Some words appear to have dropped out after these, such as *a Besso dicere quae in animo haberet jussus est.* These are required, in order that the nominative *is* may have a verb. *Bessus* is the subject of *tradidit*. He who has the cup speaks.

[4] 'Confused.'

[5] That is, 'the only thing which can be done.'

[6] A clause thrown in as the expression of an earnest wish that what he is speaking of may not take place: equivalent, as its derivation shows, to *absit omen*, *quod Juppiter omen avertat.*

[7] 'The deeper the river, with the less sound does it flow.' See Zumpt, § 710, *b*.

[8] 'By these words he had excited the expectation of his hearers:' *eos qui audiebant suspensos tenebat.*

Nunc ab Tanai exercitum accerses, et armis flumina oppones. Scilicet qua tu fugiturus es, hostis sequi non potest! Iter utrique commune est, victori tutius. Licet strenuum metum putes esse, velocior tamen spes est. Quin validioris occupas gratiam, dedisque te? utcunque cesserit, meliorem fortunam deditus quam hostis habiturus. Alienum habes regnum, quo facilius eo careas.[1] Incipies forsitan justus esse rex, cum ipse fecerit, qui tibi et dare potest regnum et eripere. Consilium habes fidele, quod diutius exequi supervacuum est. Nobilis equus umbra quoque virgae regitur; ignavus ne calcari quidem concitari potest. Bessus, et ingenio et multo mero ferox, adeo exarsit, ut vix ab amicis, quo minus occideret eum (nam strinxerat quoque acinacem), contineretur. Certe convivio[2] prosiluit haudquaquam potens mentis. Cobares inter tumultum elapsus, ad Alexandrum transfugit.

17. VIII milia Bactrianorum habebat armata Bessus, quae, quamdiu propter coeli intemperiem Indiam potius Macedonas petituros crediderant,[3] obedienter imperata fecerunt; postquam adventare Alexandrum compertum est, in suos quisque vicos dilapsi, Bessum reliquerunt. Ille cum clientium manu, qui non mutaverant fidem, Oxo amne superato, exustisque navigiis, quibus transierat, ne iisdem hostis uteretur, novas copias in Sogdianis contrahebat. Alexander Caucasum quidem, ut supra dictum est, transierat, sed inopia frumenti prope ad famem ventum erat. Suco ex sesama[4] expresso haud secus quam oleo artus perungebant. Sed hujus suci ducenis quadragenis denariis amphorae singulae, mellis denariis trecenis nonagenis, trecenis vini aestimabantur; tritici nihil aut admodum exiguum reperiebatur. Siros vocabant barbari,[5] quos ita sollerter abscondunt, ut, nisi qui defoderunt, invenire non possint: in his conditae fruges erant. In quarum penuria milites fluviatili pisce et herbis sustinebantur. Jamque haec ipsa alimenta defecerant; cum jumenta, quibus onera portabant, caedere jussi sunt: horum carne, dum in Bactrianos perventum, traxere vitam.

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[1] 'So that you will not feel the want of it so strongly.'

[2] 'Out of the banqueting-hall.'

[3] The road from Cabul, down the Cabul river, as far as the Indus, was open to the Macedonians; and it was natural to suppose that they would take that route rather than cross the mountains, and advance to the river Oxus.

[4] A plant, from the seeds of which an oil is obtained. *Sesamum* (neuter) is the name of the seed.

[5] Not merely the barbarians in that district, but foreigners generally. The word *Siri* is not Greek, for the Greeks obtained both the name and the knowledge of the practice from the Thracians.

18. Bactrianae terrae[1] multiplex et varia natura est. Alibi multa arbor et vitis[2] largos mitesque fructus alit: solum pingue crebri fontes rigant: quae mitiora sunt frumento conseruntur, cetera armentorum pabulo cedunt.[3] Magnam deinde partem ejusdem terrae steriles harenae tenent: squalida siccitate regio[4] non hominem, non frugem alit: cum vero vento a Pontico mari[5] spirant, quicquid sabuli in campis jacet converrunt. Quod ubi cumulatum est, magnorum collium procul species est, omniaque pristini itineris vestigia intereunt. Itaque qui transeunt campos navigantium modo noctu sidera observant, ad quorum cursum iter dirigunt, et propemodum clarior est noctis umbra, quam lux. Ergo interdiu invia est regio, quia nec vestigium, quod sequantur inveniunt, et nitor siderum[6] caligine absconditur. Ceterum si quos ille ventus, qui a mari exoritur, deprehendit, harena[7] obruit. Sed qua mitior terra est, ingens hominum equorumque multitudo gignitur. Itaque Bactriani equites XXX milia expleverant. Ipsa Bactra, regionis ejus caput, sita sunt sub monte Parapamiso. Bactrus amnis praeterit moenia. Is urbi et regioni dedit nomen.

19. Hic regi stativa habenti nuntiatur ex Graecia Peloponnesiorum Laconumque defectio. Nondum enim victi erant, cum proficerentur tumultus ejus principia nuntiaturi. Et alius praesens terror[8] affertur, Scythias, qui ultra Tanaim amnem colunt, adventare, Besso ferentes opem. Eodem tempore, quae in gente Ariorum Caranus et Erigyius[9] gesserant, perferuntur. Commissum erat proelium inter Mace-

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[1] Situated on the north of the so-called Indian Caucasus (now Hindûkush), and being in fact the valley of the river Oxus (the modern Gihon). The modern province (Khanat) of Balkh corresponds with the ancient Bactriana.

[2] For a notice of *vitis*, and similar words used in this collective sense, see Zumpt, § 92, note 2.

[3] 'Are devoted to pasture.'

[4] 'The land being characterized by a dusty dryness.' See *Gram.* § 306. The proper meaning of *squalidus* is 'ill-looking,' 'dirty-coloured.'

[5] *Ponticum mare* is the Black Sea; but our author confuses here the Black Sea, the Caspian, the Sea of Azov, and the perhaps less known Lake of Aral. That sea is meant which, surrounded by sandy deserts, lies on the west and north of Bactriana.

[6] Collective; the sun is meant.

[7] We should expect *sabulo*. *Sabulum* is sand when it is a kind of soil; *arena* when it is very dry, and incapable of supporting vegetation; for this reason, in the plural *arenae* are sandy deserts.

[8] 'Well-grounded cause of alarm.'

[9] See vii. 11, where we are told that Alexander, when in the country of the Arimaspi, sent them into Ariana.

dones Ariosque. Transfuga Satibarzanes barbaris praeerat: qui cum pugnam segnem utrimque aequis viribus stare vidisset, in primos ordines adequitavit, demptaque galea, inhibitis qui tela jaciebant, si quis viritim dimicare vellet, provocavit ad pugnam; nudum se caput in certamine habiturum. Non tulit ferociam barbari ducis Erigyius, gravis quidem aetate,[1] sed et animi et corporis robore nulli juvenum postferendus. Is galea dempta canitiem ostentans, Venit, inquit, dies, quo aut victoria, aut morte honestissima, quales amicos[2] et milites Alexander habeat, ostendam. Nec plura elocutus equum in hostem egit. Crederes[3] imperatum, ut acies utraeque tela cohiberent. Protinus certe recesserunt, dato libero spatio, intenti in eventum, non duorum modo, sed etiam suae sortis, quippe alienum discrimen secuturi. Prior barbarus emisit hastam, quam Erigyius modica capitis declinatione vitavit, atque ipse infestam sarissam, equo calcaribus concito, in medio barbari gutture[4] ita fixit, ut per cervicem emineret. Praecipitatus ex equo barbarus adhuc[5] tamen repugnabat. Sed ille extractam e vulnere hastam rursus in os dirigit. Satibarzanes manu complexus, quo maturius interiret, ictum hostis adjuvit. Et barbari, duce amisso quem magis necessitate quam sponte secuti erant, tunc haud immemores meritorum Alexandri, arma Erigyio tradunt. Rex his quidem laetus, de Spartanis haudquaquam securus, magno tamen animo defectum[6] eorum tulit, dicens, non ante ausos consilia nudare, quam ipsum ad fines Indiae pervenisse cognovissent. Ipse Bessum persequens copias movit: cui Erigyius barbari caput, opimum belli decus, praeferens occurrit.

20. Igitur Bactrianorum regione Artabazo tradita, sarcinas et impedimenta ibi cum praesidio reliquit. Ipse cum expedito agmine loca deserta Sogdianorum[7] intrat, nocturno

[1] 'A man well up in years.' The expression is somewhat indefinite, but it probably indicates that Erigyius was a man of about sixty years of age.

[2] Almost equivalent here to *duces*, *praefectos*.

[3] 'One would have thought.' See *Gram.* § 347, note.

[4] It might also have been *in medium guttur*.

[5] Properly *usque eo* or *etiamtum*. See Zumpt, § 292.

[6] The more ordinary form would have been *defectionem*, as in the first sentence of this chapter; but see *Gram.* § 203, 3, 4.

[7] This desert begins about six geographical miles to the north of the modern Balkh, and extends northward to the Oxus. Judging from the name in our text, Curtius appears to include the desert in Sogdiana, though the Oxus is usually reckoned the boundar Bactriana and Sogdiana. As to the night-march, we must u that the army set out towards evening, and marched til when the heat becomes strong.

itinere exercitum ducens. Aquarum, ut ante dictum est, penuria prius desperatione, quam desiderio bibendi sitim accendit.[1] Per CCCC stadia ne modicus quidem humor existit. Harenas vapor aestivi solis accendit: quae ubi flagrare coeperunt, haud secus quam continenti incendio cuncta torrentur.[2] Caligo deinde, immodico terrae fervore excitata, lucem tegit: camporumque non alia quam vasti et profundi aequoris species est. Nocturnum iter tolerabile videbatur, quia rore et matutino frigore corpora levabantur. Ceterum cum ipsa luce aestus oritur, omnemque naturalem absorbet humorem siccitas; ora visceraque penitus uruntur. Itaque primum animi, deinde corpora deficere coeperunt. Pigebat et consistere et progredi. Pauci a peritis regionis admoniti praepararant aquam. Haec paulisper repressit sitim: deinde crescente aestu rursus desiderium humoris accensum est. Ergo quicquid vini olieque erat oribus ingerebatur, tantaque dulcedo bibendi fuit, ut in posterum sitis non timeretur. Graves deinde avide hausto humore non sustinere arma, non ingredi poterant; et feliciores videbantur, quos aqua defecerat, cum ipsi sine modo infusam vomitu cogerentur egerere. Anxium regem tantis malis circumfusi amici, ut meminisset sui, orabant; animi sui[3] magnitudinem unicum remedium deficientis exercitus esse: cum ex his, qui praecesserant ad capiendum locum castris, duo occurrunt[4] utribus aquam gestantes, ut filiis suis, quos in eodem agmine esse, et aegre pati sitim non ignorabant, occurrerent. Qui cum in regem incidissent, alter ex eis, utre resoluto, vas, quod simul ferebat, implet, porrigens regi. Ille accipit; percontatus quibus aquam portarent, filiis ferre cognoscit. Tunc poculo pleno, sicut oblatum est, reddito, Nec solus, inquit, bibere sustineo, nec tam exiguum dividere omnibus possum. Vos currite, et liberis vestris, quod propter illos attulistis, date.

21. Tandem ad flumen Oxum ipse pervenit prima fere vespera. Sed exercitus magna pars non potuerat consequi: in edito monte ignes jubet fieri, ut ii, qui aegre sequebantur, haud procul castris ipsos[5] abesse cognoscerent. Eos autem,

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[1] The feeling that there was no possibility of obtaining water excited thirst, before it would have come on naturally.

[2] 'When the dry sand begins to glow, then everything (the whole atmosphere) is parched as if by a single connected flame.'

[3] *Ipsius* would have been less ambiguous; but where there is no fear of ambiguity, *ejus* and *sui* are generally used, not *ipsius*.

[4] A very common construction: *amici regem orabant* (description of an enduring state), *cum duo occurrunt*, or *occurrerunt*. See Zumpt, § 580.

[5] It might also have been *se*.

qui primi agminis erant, mature cibo ac potione firmatos, implere alios utres, alios vasa, quibuscunque aqua portari posset, jussit, ac suis opem ferre. Sed qui intemperantius hauserunt, intercluso spiritu extincti sunt: multoque major horum numerus fuit, quam ullo amiserat proelio. At ille thoracem[1] adhuc indutus, nec aut cibo refectus aut potu, qua[2] veniebat exercitus, constitit: nec ante ad curandum corpus recessit, quam praeterierat agmen: totamque eam noctem cum magno animi motu perpetuis vigiliis egit. Nec postero die laetior erat, quia nec navigia habebat, nec pons erigi poterat, circum amnem nudo solo, et materia[3] maxime sterili. Consilium igitur, quod unum necessitas subjecerat, init. Utres quam plurimos stramentis refertos dividit. His incubantes transnavere amnem: quique primi transierant in statione erant, dum trajicerent ceteri. Hoc modo sexto demum die in ulteriore ripa totum exercitum exposuit.

22. Jamque ad persequendum Bessum statuerat progredi, cum ea, quae in Sogdianis erant,[4] cognoscit. Spitamenes erat inter omnes amicos praecipuo honore cultus a Besso. Sed nullis meritis perfidia[5] mitigari potest: quae tamen minus in eo invisa esse poterat, quia nihil ulli nefastum in Bessum, interfectorem regis sui, videbatur. Titulus facinori speciosus praeferebatur, vindicta Darei: sed fortunam, non scelus oderat Bessi. Namque ut Alexandrum flumen Oxum superasse cognovit, Dataphernem et Catenem, quibus a Besso maxima fides habebatur, in societatem cogitatae rei[6] asciscit. Illi promptius adeunt,[7] quam rogabantur; assumptisque octo fortissimis juvenibus, talem dolum intendunt. Spitamenes pergit ad Bessum, et remotis arbitris, comperisse ait se, insidiari et Dataphernem et Catenem, ut vivum Alexandro traderent agitantes; a semet occupatos esse et vinctos teneri. Bessus tanto merito, ut credebat, obligatus, partim gratias agit, partim

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[1] As to this construction, see *Gram.* § 259, 1.

[2] 'On the road, along which.'

[3] 'Very destitute of timber:' the genitive might also have been used. Alexander appears to have prepared the bags mentioned above, before he left Bactra, as a last resort for crossing the river. This mode of crossing rivers is said to be quite common still in those countries.

[4] 'The state of affairs in Sogdiana,' the province in which he now was.

[5] The treacherous disposition of Spitamenes could not be softened down by any kindnesses shown to him by Bessus: *meritis*, kind actions by which Bessus had 'merited' his affection.

[6] 'To share in his design.' *Rei cogitatae* is used in preference to the genitive neuter *cogitati*, because the latter is ambiguous.

[7] Equivalent to *accedunt*, 'agree' to his proposition.

avidus explendi supplicii adduci eos jubet. Illi manibus sua sponte religatis,[1] a participibus consilii trahebantur: quos Bessus truci vultu intuens consurgit, manibus non temperaturus.[2] Atque illi simulatione omissa circumsistunt eum, et frustra repugnantem vinciunt, direpto ex capite regni insigni, lacerataque veste, quam e spoliis occisi regis induerat. Ille deos sui sceleris ultores adesse confessus, adjecit, non Dareo iniquos fuisse, quem sic ulciscerentur;[3] sed Alexandro propitios, cujus victoriam semper etiam hostis adjuvisset. Multitudo an[4] vindicatura Bessum fuerit, incertum est, nisi illi, qui vinxerant, jussu Alexandri fecisse ipsos ementiti, dubios adhuc animi[5] terruissent. In equum impositum Alexandro tradituri ducunt.

23. Inter haec rex, quibus matura erat missio, electis DCCCC fere, bina talenta equiti dedit, pediti terna denarium milia;[6] monitosque ut liberos generarent, remisit domum. Ceteris gratiae actae, quod ad reliqua belli navaturos operam pollicebantur. Perventum erat in parvulum oppidum: Branchidae ejus incolae erant. Mileto quondam jussu Xerxis, cum e Graecia rediret, transierant, et in ea sede constiterant, quia templum, quod Didymeon appellatur, in gratiam Xerxis violaverant.[7] Mores patrii nondum exoleverant, sed jam bilingues erant, paulatim a domestico externo sermone degeneres.[8] Magno igitur gaudio regem excipiunt, urbem seque dedentes. Ille Milesios, qui apud

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[1] That is, they themselves, of their own accord, had commanded their hands to be tied behind their backs.

[2] 'Intending not to restrain himself from laying violent hands on them.'

[3] 'That he had not been hostile to Darius, since they now avenged him in this manner.'

[4] Meaning here, 'whether .... not;' for the probability was, that the crowd would have come to the assistance of Bessus. This is the usual meaning of *an* after *dubium, incertum est;* in Curtius, however, not the only one. See Zumpt, § 354.

[5] For the construction *dubius animi*, see *Gram.* § 277, 2, note 1.

[6] The horseman accordingly obtained four times the sum which the foot soldier received; for a talent is equal to six thousand *drachmae* or *denarii.*

[7] The Branchidae (descendants of one Branchus) had betrayed the temple and oracle of Apollo Didymeus into the hands of Xerxis, and in order to escape the punishment which they merited from the Greeks, had accompanied the king, on his return, into the interior of Asia, where they settled. *Jussu Xerxis*, therefore, does not mean that the king absolutely commanded them, but merely that he gave them an opportunity.

[8] 'Having gradually degenerated from their original language;' that is, from their constant intercourse with their Persian neighbours, their language had become a mixture of Greek and Persian.

ipsum militarent, convocari jubet. Vetus odium Milesii gerebant in Branchidarum gentem. Proditis[1] ergo, sive injuriae, sive originis meminisse mallent, liberum de Branchidis permittit arbitrium. Variantibus deinde sententiis, se ipsum consideraturum quid optimum factu esset, ostendit. Postero die occurrentibus, Branchidas secum procedere jubet.[2] Cumque ad urbem ventum esset, ipse cum expedita manu portam intrat. Phalanx moenia oppidi circumire jussa, et dato signo diripere urbem, proditorum receptaculum, ipsosque ad unum[3] caedere. Illi inermes passim trucidantur, nec aut commercio linguae, aut supplicum velamentis[4] precibusque inhiberi crudelitas potest. Tandem, ut dejicerent, fûndamenta murorum ab imo moliuntur, ne quod urbis vestigium extaret. Nemora quoque et lucos sacros non caedunt modo, sed etiam extirpant, ut vasta solitudo et sterilis humus, excussis etiam radicibus, linqueretur. Quae si in ipsos proditionis auctores excogitata essent, justa ultio esse, non credelitas videretur: nunc culpam majorum posteri luere, qui ne viderant quidem Miletum, ideo et Xerxi non[5] potuerant prodere.

24. Inde processit ad Tanaim amnem.[6] Quo perductus est Bessus non vinctus modo, sed etiam omni velamento corporis spoliatus. Spitamenes eum tenebat collo inserta catena,

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[1] 'To the betrayed (namely, the Milesians) he gives the liberty of freely deciding the fate of the Branchidae, whether they preferred to keep in remembrance the wrong which they (the Branchidae) had done them, or their (common) origin.' In the former case, of course, they would decree punishment; in the latter incline to mercy.

[2] 'On the following day, when they (the Milesians of his army) meet him, he orders them to advance with him to Branchidae (the town).' If *occurrentibus* be the dative, then the construction is a deviation from the general rule that *jubere* governs the accusative with the infinitive. Compare v. 20. If it be the ablative absolute, then this is also contrary to a grammatical rule, which, however, is sometimes violated. See *Gram.* § 405, note 6. In the latter case we must supply before *procedere* the accusative *eos*.

[3] Usually *ad unum omnes*. See Zumpt, § 296.

[4] 'The coverings of the suppliants;' that is, the veils which they put on, to show that they were suppliants; for those who were praying to the gods had always their heads covered.

[5] *Et non* in the sense of 'not even' is rare, *ne .... quidem* being commonly used.

[6] That is, the Jaxartes, which was always the boundary between the stationary and nomadic races of Asia. The soldiers of Alexander called this river the Tanais, confounding it with the Don; and from this blunder has arisen a host of egregious mistakes. We are now told what happened on the march from the Oxus to the Jaxartes. Alexander did not reach the latter river for some time. See chap. 29.

tam barbaris, quam Macedonibus gratum spectaculum. Tum Spitamenes, Et te, inquit, et Dareum, reges meos, ultus, interfectorem domini sui adduxi, eo modo captum, cujus ipse fecit exemplum. Aperiat ad hoc spectaculum oculos Dareus. Existat ab inferis, qui illo supplicio indignus fuit, et hoc solatio dignus est. Alexander, multum collaudato Spitamene, conversus ad Bessum, Cujus, inquit, ferae rabies occupavit animum tuum, cum regem de te optime meritum prius vincire, deinde occidere sustinuisti? Sed hujus parricidii mercedem falso regis nomine persolvisti.[1] Ibi ille facinus purgare non ausus, regis titulum se usurpare[2] dixit, ut gentem suam tradere ipsi possit: qui si cessaset,[3] alium fuisse regnum occupaturum. Et Alexander Oxathren, fratrem Darei, quem inter corporis custodes habebat, propius jussit accodere, tradique Bessum ei, ut cruci affixum mutilatis auribus naribusque sagittis configerent barbari, asservarentque corpus, ut ne aves quidem contingerent. Oxathres cetera sibi curae fore pollicetur: aves non ab alio, quam a Catene, posse prohiberi adjicit, eximiam ejus artem cupiens ostendere: namque adeo certo ictu destinata[4] feriebat, ut aves quoque exciperet.[5] Nam si forsitan sagittandi tam celebri usu minus admirabilis videri ars haec possit,[6] tamen ingens visentibus miraculum, magnoque honori Cateni fuit. Dona deinde omnibus, qui Bessum adduxerant, data sunt. Ceterum supplicium ejus distulit, ut eo loco, in quo Dareum ipse occiderat, necaretur.

25. Interea Macedones, ad petendum pabulum incomposito agmine egressi, a barbaris, qui de proximis montibus decurrerunt, opprimuntur, pluresque capti sunt quam occisi: barbari autem captivos prae se agentes, rursus in montem recesserunt. XX milia latronum[7] erant. Fundis sagittisque

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[1] 'Thou hast bestowed upon thyself (properly 'paid') the reward of this murder in the false name of king.'

[2] 'That he assumed and made use of the title of king, only that,' &c.

[3] Equivalent to *nam si ipse cessasset*. The relative *qui* may belong to, and have its verb in either the first or second, as well as the third person. Here what is the third person in the *oratio obliqua* would have been the first in the direct speech; 'for if I had been dilatory, another would have seized the government.'

[4] 'What he was to aim at.'

[5] 'That is, he could bring down birds when on the wing.'

[6] 'Although perhaps, considering the frequent practice of archery (in those days), this skill may seem less extraordinary.' *Si*, as the next clause is introduced by *tamen*, takes the sense of *etsi*.

[7] This is the term always applied in Roman warfare to rebels who fought without any regular system; the French 'brigands' or Spanish 'guerillas.'

pugnam invadunt.[1] Quos dum obsidet rex, inter promptissimos dimicans sagitta ictus est, quae in medio crure fixa reliquerat spiculum. Illum quidem maesti et attoniti Macedones in castra referebant: sed nec barbaros fefellit subductus ex acie: quippe ex edito monte cuncta prospexerant. Itaque postero die misere legatos ad regem, quos ille protinus jussit admitti, solutisque faciis, magnitudinem vulneris dissimulans, crus barbaris ostendit. Illi jussi considere affirmant, non Macedones, quam ipsos[2] tristiores fuisse cognito vulnere ipsius: cujus si auctorem repperissent, dedituros fuisse, cum diis enim pugnare sacrilegos tantum. Ceterum se gentem in fidem dedere, superatos virtute illius. Rex, fide data et captivis receptis, gentem in deditionem accepit. Castris inde motis lectica militari ferebatur, quam pro se quisque eques pedesque subire[3] certabant. Equites, cum quibus rex proelia inire solitus erat, sui muneris id esse censebant: pedites contra, cum saucios commilitones ipsi gestare assuevissent, eripi sibi proprium officium tum potissimum, cum rex gestandus esset, querebantur. Rex, in tanto utriusque partis certamine, et sibi difficilem, et praeteritis gravem electionem futuram ratus, invicem subire eos jussit.

26. Hinc quarto die ad urbem Maracanda[4] perventum est. LXX stadia murus urbis amplectitur; arx alio cingitur muro. Ac praesidio urbis relicto, proximos vicos depopulatur atque urit.[5] Legati deinde Abiorum Scytharum[6] superveniunt, liberi, ex quo decesserat Cyrus, tum imperata facturi. Justissimos barbarorum constabat: armis abstinebant, nisi lacessiti: libertatis modico et aequali usu principibus humiliores pares fecerant. Hos benigne allocutus, ad eos Scythas, qui Europam incolunt,[7] Berdam quendam misit ex amicis, qui denuntiaret his, ne Tanaim, amnem regionis, injussu regis transirent. Eidem mandatum, ut contemplaretur loco-

[1] Equivalent to *ingrediuntur*, *ineunt*.

[2] Equivalent to *se*, but more emphatic; 'they themselves, by whom the wound had been inflicted.'

[3] 'To bear.' Many of the compounds of *ire* have a transitive meaning. See *Gram.* § 250, note 1.

[4] Unquestionably the modern city of Samarcand, situated in a fertile district watered by the river Polytimetus, as the Greeks translate its native name.

[5] No doubt for the purpose of inducing the inhabitants of the surrounding country voluntarily to tender their submission.

[6] A nomadic tribe, who were reckoned by the Greeks among the Scythians, and in whom they thought they recognised the 'very just Ἄβιοι' of Homer, *Iliad*, xiii. 6.

[7] Those, namely, who dwelt beyond the Jaxartes, and who, from the false idea that that river was the Tanais (Don), were considered to be in Europe.

rum situm, et illos quoque Scythas, qui super Bosporon colunt,[1] viseret. Condendae urbi sedem super ripam Tanaim elegerat, claustrum et jam perdomitorum, et quae deinde adire decreverat. Sed consilium distulit Sogdianorum nuntiata defectio, quae Bactrianos quoque traxit. VII milia equitum erant, quorum auctoritatem ceteri sequebantur. Alexander Spitamenem et Catenem, a quibus ei traditus erat Bessus, haud dubius quin eorum opera redigi possent in potestatem, qui novaverant res, jussit accersi. At illi, defectionis, ad quam coercendam evocabantur, auctores, vulgaverant fama, Bactrianos equites a rege omnes ut occiderentur accersi: idque imperatum ipsis, non sustinuisse tamen exequi,[2] ne inexpiabile in populares facinus admitterent. Non magis Alexandri saevitiam, quam[3] Bessi parricidium ferre potuisse. Itaque sua sponte jam motos metu poenae haud difficulter[4] concitaverunt ad arma.

27. Alexander, transfugarum defectione comperta, Craterum obsidere Cyropolim[5] jubet: ipse aliam urbem regionis ejusdem corona capit; signoque, ut puberes interficerentur, dato, reliqui in praedam cessere victores: urbs diruta est, ut ceteri cladis ejus exemplo continerentur. Memaceni, valida gens, obsidionem non ut honestiorem modo, sed etiam ut tutiorem, ferre decreverant. Ad quorum pertinaciam mitigandam rex L equites praemisit, qui clementiam ipsius in deditos, simulque inexorabilem animum in devictos ostenderent. Illi nec de fide, nec de potentia regis ipsos[6] dubi-

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[1] According to our author's notions, this would be the Cimmerian Bosporus, which connects the Pontus Euxinus with the Palus Maeotis. But we are now much further east, on the shores of the Caspian. If Alexander's ambassador was ordered to visit an inland sea in that neighbourhood, which had some resemblance to the Palus Maeotis, it might be the lake of Aral, into which the Jaxartes flows; but he certainly did not penetrate so far. The ancients, at least their writers, had no idea of the true geographical connection of these vast steppes. The merchants, however, who traded thither, and probably Alexander himself, must have possessed a much more accurate knowledge of the country.

[2] 'That they (Spitamenes and Catenes) had been intrusted with the duty, but had not been able to bring their minds to perform it.'

[3] 'Not more than;' that is, the one as little as the other.

[4] As to the forms of the adverb of *difficilis*, see *Gram.* § 219, 3.

[5] This city was called also Cyreschata (the furthest colony of Cyrus), and was situated on the Jaxartes: the other revolted towns must have been near it. They are supposed to have been in the neighbourhood of the modern Kodjend. The revolt of the Sogdiani, however, was more widely spread, for it extended to Maracanda, the capital, in Alexander's rear.

[6] Equivalent to *se*.

tare respondent, equitesque tendere extra munimenta urbis jubent: hospitaliter deinde exceptos gravesque epulis et somno intempesta nocte adorti interfecerunt. Alexander haud secus, quam par erat, motus, urbem corona circumdedit, munitiorem, quam ut primo impetu capi posset. Itaque Meleagrum et Perdiccam in obsidionem jungit, Cyropolim, ut ante dictum est,[1] obsidentes. Statuerat autem parcere urbi conditae a Cyro, quippe non alium gentium illarum magis admiratus est, quam hunc regem et Semiramim, quos et magnitudine animi et claritate rerum longe emicuisse credebat. Ceterum pertinacia oppidanorum iram ejus accendit. Itaque captam urbem diripi jussit et deleri. Tum Memacenis haud injuria infestus ad Meleagrum et Perdiccam redit. Sed non alia urbs fortius obsidionem tulit: quippe et militum promptissimi cecidere, et ipse rex ad ultimum periculum venit. Namque cervix[2] ejus saxo ita icta est, ut oculis caligine offusa collaberetur, ne mentis quidem compos; exercitus certe velut erepto eo ingemuit. Sed invictus adversus ea, quae ceteros terrent, nondum percurato vulnere, acrius obsidioni institit, naturalem celeritatem ira concitante. Cuniculo ergo suffossa moenia ingens nudavere spatium, per quod irrupit, victorque urbem dirui jussit.

28. Hinc Menedemum cum III milibus peditum et DCCC equitibus ad urbem Maracanda misit. Spitamenes transfuga praesidio Macedonum inde dejecto, muris urbis ejus incluserat se, haud oppidanis consilium defectionis approbantibus. Sequi tamen videbantur, quia prohibere non poterant. Interim Alexander ad Tanaim amnem redit, et quantum soli occupaverant castris, muro circumdedit. LX stadiorum urbis murus fuit: hanc quoque urbem Alexandriam appellari jussit.[3] Opus tanta celeritate perfectum est, ut decimo septimo die, quam munimenta excitata erant, tecta quoque urbis absolverentur. Ingens militum certamen inter ipsos fuerat, ut suum quisque munus (nam divisum erat) primus ostenderet. Incolae novae urbi dati captivi, quos reddito pretio dominis liberavit, quorum posteri nunc quoque non[4] apud eos tam longa aetate propter memoriam Alexandri exoleverunt.

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[1] It has been stated before that Cyropolis was besieged, but not that these two with their regiments belonged to the besieging force.

[2] 'His neck.' In Cicero and the earlier Latin authors this word is only used in the plural, even for one neck.

[3] Certainly in the neighbourhood of where Cyropolis had stood, and built for the same purpose; namely, to secure the empire against the inroads of the nomadic tribes beyond the Jaxartes. This city was called by the Greeks 'Alexandria on the Tanais.'

[4] An unusual expression, for which *ne nunc quidem* is much more common. Compare chap. 23, *ad fin.*

29. At rex Scytharum, cujus tum ultra Tanaim imperium erat, ratus eam urbem, quam in ripa amnes Macedones condiderant, suis impositam esse cervicibus, fratrem Carthasim nomine cum magna equitum manu misit ad diruendam eam, proculque amne submovendas Macedonum copias. Bactrianos Tanais ab Scythis, quos Europaeos vocant, dividit. Idem Asiam et Europam finis interfluit.[1] Ceterum Scytharum gens haud procul Thracia sita ab Oriente ad Septentrionem se vertit, Sarmatarumque, ut quidam credidere, non finitima, sed pars est.[2] Rectam deinde regionem[3] aliam ultra Istrum jacentem colit: ultima Asiae, quae Bactra sunt, stringit. Habitant quae Septentrioni propiora sunt: profundae inde silvae vastaeque solitudines excipiunt: rursus quae et Tanaim et Bactra spectant humano cultu[4] haud disparia sunt. Primus cum hac gente non provisum bellum Alexander gesturus, cum in conspectu ejus obequitaret[5] hostis, adhuc aeger ex vulnere, praecipue voce deficiens, quam et modicus cibus et cervicis extenuebat dolor, amicos in consilium advocari jubet. Terrebat eum non hostis, sed iniquitas temporis. Bactriani[6] defecerant: Scythae etiam lacessebant: ipse non insistere in terra, non equo vehi, non docere, non hortari suos poterat. Ancipiti periculo implicitus, deos quoque incusans, querebatur, se jacere segnem, cujus velocitatem nemo antea valuisset effugere: vix suos credere non simulari valetudinem.

30. Ita qui post Dareum victum ariolos[7] et vates consulere desierat, rursus ad superstitionem, humanarum mentium ludibria,[8] revolutus, Aristandrum cui credulitatem suam

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[1] An instance of that confusion of the Don with the Jaxartes (modern Sihun) which we have already repeatedly noticed.

[2] This is contrary to the opinion of Herodotus, who considers the Sarmatians (Σαυρομάται) not as Scythians, but as a tribe bordering on them, beyond the Tanais, extending to the Massagetae. Those Scythians who are here mentioned as dwelling beyond the Jaxartes are the Μασσαγέται of Herodotus. Next them he places the Issedonians.

[3] 'A straight district;' that is, a district stretching from west to east.

[4] For *cultui*. See *Gram.* § 71, note 2.

[5] 'Riding along in front.'

[6] Properly the Sogdiani. But the boundaries of the province of Bactriana are frequently very much extended, so that Sogdiana is considered as belonging to it: as above, *ultima Asiae, quae Bactra sunt.*

[7] *Harioli* and *haruspices* (or, without the aspirate, *arioli* and *aruspices*) were soothsayers. The *haruspices* foresaw the future principally by an examination of the entrails of the victims at sacrifices; *harioli* is commonly used in a contemptuous sense. Both words are probably derived from *hara, ara,* 'an altar.'

[8] As superstition imbues the minds of those under its influence

addixerat, explorare eventum rerum sacrificiis jubet. Mos erat aruspicibus exta sine rege spectare, et quae portenderentur, referre.[1] Inter haec rex, dum fibris[2] pecudum explorantur eventus latentium rerum, propius ipsum[3] considere amicos jubet, ne contentione vocis cicatricem infirmam adhuc rumperet.[4] Hephaestio, Craterus, et Erigyius erant cum custodibus[5] in tabernaculum admissi. Discrimen, inquit, me occupavit meliore hostium, quam meo tempore. Sed necessitas ante rationem est, maxime in bello, quod raro permittitur tempore legere.[6] Defecere Bactriani, in quorum cervicibus stamus, et quantum in nobis animi sit, alieno Marte[7] experiuntur. Haud dubia fortuna, si omiserimus Scythas ultro arma inferentes, contempti ad illos, qui defecerunt, revertemur: si vero Tanaim transierimus, et ubique invictos esse nos Scytharum pernicie ac sanguine ostènderimus, quis dubitabit parere etiam Europae victoribus? Fallitur, qui terminos gloriae nostrae metitur spatio, quod transituri sumus.[8] Unus amnis interfluit, quem si trajicimus, in Europam arma proferimus. Et quanti aestimandum est, dum Asiam subigimus, in alio quodammodo orbe tropaea statuere, et quae tam longo intervallo natura videtur diremisse, una victoria subito committere? At hercule si pau-

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with many false notions, *superstitionem* takes here as apposition a plural, *ludibria*, 'deceptions.'

[1] 'The *aruspices* were accustomed to examine the entrails without the king's being present, and then merely to report to him what things were foretold by them.'

[2] *Fibrae* are strings connected with the lungs and liver, which were the first subjects of examination by the *haruspices*, then these *viscera* themselves.

[3] For the construction of *prope* and its derivatives, see *Gram.* § 255, note 2.

[4] The historical present may be followed in a subordinate clause by a past tense. See *Gram.* § 364, note 2.

[5] The σωματοφύλακες (*corporis custodes*) of the king; that is, the generals who acted as his adjutants, are meant.

[6] 'Which we are but rarely permitted to choose at the time that is convenient for us.' *Tempore* has here the meaning of 'at a convenient time.' Compare Zumpt, § 475, note.

[7] 'By a foreign war,' *non suo Marte.* They do not carry on war themselves, but make use of the Scythians.

[8] The full sense may be given thus: 'Our glory will extend beyond the short distance which separates us from the enemy, and which we have to pass over. In ordinary cases, the fame which a victor merits is judged of according to the distance of the enemy whom he seeks and conquers. Here the foe is not far from us; but as the Tanais is the boundary between Europe and Asia, we shall, by conquering an enemy on this frontier, be reported to have made ourselves masters of the whole of this part of the world.'

bellum cessaverimus, in tergis nostris Scythae haerebunt. An soli sumus, qui flumina transnare possumus?[1] Multa in nosmetipsos recident, quibus adhuc vicimus. Fortuna belli artem victos quoque docet. Utribus amnem trajiciendi exemplum fecimus nuper: hoc, ut[2] Scythae imitari nesciant, Bactriani docebunt. Praeterea unus gentis hujus exercitus adhuc venit, ceteri expectantur. Ita bellum vitando alemus, et quod inferre possumus, accipere cogemur. Manifesta est consilii mei ratio. Sed an permissuri sint mihi Macedones animo uti meo, dubito; quia ex quo hoc vulnus accepi, non equo vectus sum, non pedibus ingressus. Sed si me sequi vultis, valeo, amici. Satis virium est ad toleranda ista; aut si jam adest vitae meae finis, in quo tandem opere melius extinguar?

31. Haec quassa[3] adhuc voce subdeficiens, vix proximis exaudientibus,[4] dixerat; cum omnes a tam praecipiti consilio regem deterrere coeperunt, Erigyius maxime, qui haud sane auctoritate proficiens apud obstinatum animum, superstitionem, cujus potens non erat rex, incutere temptavit, dicendo,[5] deos quoque obstare consilio, magnumque periculum, si flumen transisset, ostendi. Intranti Erigyio tabernaculum regis Aristander occurrerat, tristia exta fuisse significans: haec ex vate comperta Erigyius nuntiabat. Quo inhibito,[6] Alexander, non ira solum, sed etiam pudore confusus, quod superstitio, quam celaverat, detegebatur,[7] Aristandrum vocari jubet. Qui ut venit, intuens eum, Non rex, inquit, sed privatus sum? Sacrificium ut faceres, mandavi; quid eo portenderetur, cur apud alium, quam apud me professus es? Erigyius arcana mea et secreta, te prodente, cognovit. Quem certum mehercule habeo extorum interprete uti metu suo.[8] Tibi autem quietius, quam potest,[9] denuntio, ipsi mihi indices, quid extis cognoveris, ne possis

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[1] 'Are we the only persons who can swim across rivers? Can the Scythians not do the same?'

[2] *Ut*, as a particle of concession, 'granting that.' See *Gram.* § 352, note 1.

[3] Equivalent to *fracta*.

[4] *Exaudire*, 'to hear so as to understand.'

[5] It might also have been *dicens*.

[6] That is, 'being prevented by the king from saying more.'

[7] This statement, that Alexander was ashamed of being under the influence of superstition, at least of a superstition which belonged properly to Asia, not to Greece, is a remarkable one, showing the wide-spread philosophical spirit of the age.

[8] 'I am sure' (compare *Gram.* § 404, note 4) 'that he uses his own fear for the interpretation of the entrails.'

[9] 'With more quietness than is possible'—that is, 'than you might expect from me.'

infitiari dixisse,[1] quae dixeris. Ille exsanguis attonitoque similis stabat, per metum etiam voce suppressa: tandemque eodem metu stimulante, ne regis expectationem moraretur, Magni, inquit, laboris, non irriti, discrimen instare praedixi: nec me ars mea quam[2] benivolentia perturbat. Infirmitatem valetudinis tuae video, et quantum in uno te sit scio. Vereor, ne praesenti fortunae tuae sufficere non possis.[3] Rex jussum confidere felicitati suae remisit. Sibi enim ad alia gloriam concedere deos. Consultanti inde cum iisdem, quonam modo flumen transirent, supervenit Aristander, non alias laetiora exta vidisse se affirmans, utique prioribus[4] longe diversa; tum sollicitudinis causas apparuisse, nunc prorsus egregie litatum esse.[5]

32. Ceterum quae subinde nuntiata sunt regi, continuae felicitati rerum ejus imposuerant labem.[6] Menedemum, ut supra dictum est, miserat ad obsidendum Spitamenem, Bactrianae defectionis auctorem. Qui, comperto hostis adventu, ne muris urbisincluderetur, simul fretus excipi[7] posse, qua venturum sciebat, consedit[8] occultus. Silvestre iter aptum insidiis tegendis erat: ibi Dahas condidit. Equi binos armatos vehunt, quorum invicem singuli[9] repente desiliunt: equestris pugnae ordinem turbant. Equorum velocitati par hominum pernicitas.[10] Hos Spitamenes saltum circumire jussos pariter et a lateribus, et a fronte, et a tergo hosti ostendit. Menedemus undique inclusus, ne numero quidem par, diu tamen resistit, clamitans, nihil aliud superesse locorum fraude deceptis, quam honestae mortis solatium ex hostium caede. Ipsum praevalens equus vehebat, quo saepius in cuneos barbarorum effusis habenis evectus[11] magna strage eos fuderat. Sed cum unum omnes peterent, multis vulneribus exsanguis Hypsidem quendam ex amicis hortatus est, ut

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[1] Supply *te*. See *Gram.* § 385.

[2] Fully, *nec me tam ars mea quam*. See Zumpt, § 725.

[3] *Ne non* equivalent to *ut*, since there is implied *opto ut possis*. See *Gram.* § 352, note 2, *ad fin.*

[4] Or *a prioribus*. See *Gram.* § 302; and Zumpt, § 468.

[5] *Litare* itself contains the idea of successful or propitious sacrificing, even without the *egregie*.

[6] Equivalent to *maculam adsperserant*, 'had blotted,' 'had thrown a cloud over.'

[7] Supply *eum*.

[8] 'Stationed himself;' or, since an ambush (*insidiae*) is meant, 'lay down.'

[9] 'Alternately the one and the other.'

[10] There are three words which have the signification of 'quick,' *celer*, *velox*, and *pernix*. Of these, *pernix* refers principally to bodily agility, suppleness of the limbs.

[11] With the force of *invectus*, 'rushing against.'

in equum suum ascenderet, et se fuga eriperet. Haec agentem anima defecit, corpusque ex equo defluxit in terram. Hypsides poterat quidem effugere, sed amisso amico mori statuit. Una erat cura, ne inultus occideret. Itaque subditis calcaribus equo, in medios hostes se immisit, et memorabili edita pugna obrutus telis est. Quod ubi videre qui caedi supererant, tumulum paulo quam cetera editiorem capiunt; quos Spitamenes fame in deditionem subacturus obsedit. Cecidere eo proelio peditum II milia, CCC equites. Quam cladem Alexander sollerti consilio texit, morte denuntiata his, qui ex proelio advenerant, si acta vulgassent.

33. Ceterum cum animo disparem vultum diutius ferre non posset, in tabernaculum super ripam fluminis de industria locatum secessit. Ibi sine arbitris singula animi consulta pensando,[1] noctem vigiliis extraxit, saepe pellibus tabernaculi allevatis, ut conspiceret hostium ignes, e quibus conjectare poterat, quanta hominum multitudo esset. Jamque lux appetebat, cum thoracem indutus procedit ad milites, tum primum post vulnus proxime acceptum. Tanta erat apud eos veneratio regis, ut facile periculi, quod horrebant, cogitationem praesentia ejus excuteret.[2] Laeti ergo et manantibus gaudio[3] lacrimis, consalutant eum, et quod ante recusaverant bellum, feroces deposcunt. Ille se ratibus[4] equitem phalangemque transportaturum esse pronuntiat; super utres jubet nare levius armatos. Plura nec dici res desideravit, nec rex dicere per valetudinem potuit. Ceterum tanta alacritate militum rates junctae sunt, ut in triduum[5] ad XII milia effectae sint. Jamque ad transeundum omnia aptaverant, cum legati Scytharum XX, more gentis per castra equis vecti, nuntiare[6] jubent regi, velle ipsos ad eum mandata perferre. Admissi in tabernaculum jussique considere in vultu regis defixerant oculos; credo quis, magnitudine corporis animum aestimantibus, modicus habitus[7] haudquaquam famae par videbatur. Scythis autem non, ut

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[1] Equivalent to *pensans*.

[2] 'His presence drove away any thought of the danger.'

[3] See *Gram.* § 291. *Prae gaudio* would have been incorrect, for *prae* is used in cases of prevention; *e. g.* 'he could not speak for joy.' See Zumpt, § 310.

[4] 'On rafts.' It is only the poets who use *rates* for *navis*, *scapha*.

[5] This is a remarkable deviation from the ordinary rule for the expression of time within which something is done. See *Gram.* § 308, note 3.

[6] See note, iii. 30.

[7] *Credo quis* (*quibus*) .... *videbatur*, for *credo quod iis* .... *videbatur*. *Habitus* refers here principally to stature.

ceteris barbaris, rudis et inconditus sensus[1] est: quidam eorum sapientiam capere dicuntur, quantamcunque gens capit semper armata. Sicque locutos esse apud regem memoriae proditum est: abhorrent[2] forsitan moribus nostris, et tempora et ingenia cultiora sortitis; sed ut possit oratio eorum sperni, tamen fides nostra non debet: quae, utcunque sunt tradita, incorrupta perferemus. Igitur unum ex his maximum natu locutum accepimus:

34. Si dii habitum corporis tui aviditati animi parem esse voluissent, orbis te non caperet; altera manu Orientem, altera Occidentem contingeres, et hoc assecutus scire velles, ubi tanti numinis[3] fulgor conderetur. Sic quoque concupiscis, quae non capis. Ab Europa petis Asiam: ex Asia transis in Europam;[4] deinde si humanum genus omne superaveris, cum silvis et nivibus et fluminibus ferisque bestiis gesturus es bellum. Quid? tu ignoras arbores magnas diu crescere, una hora extirpari? Stultus est, qui fructus earum spectat, altitudinem non metitur. Vide, ne dum ad cacumen pervenire contendis, cum ipsis ramis, quos comprehenderis, decidas. Leo quoque aliquando minimarum avium pabulum fuit; et ferrum rubigo consumit. Nihil tam firmum est, cui periculum non sit etiam ab invalido. Quid nobis tecum est? Nunquam terram tuam attigimus. Qui sis,[5] unde venias, licetne ignorare in vastis silvis viventibus? Nec servire ulli possumus, nec imperare desideramus. Dona nobis data sunt,[6] ne Scytharum gentem ignores, jugum, aratrum, hasta,

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[1] Here 'acuteness of perception.'

[2] The subject is wrapped up in the following *quae perferemus*, and may be given as 'their words.' Our author says that 'our manners have more polished times and intellects,' attributing to the manners what properly belongs to the persons: 'we live in a more polished age, and our intellects are more cultivated.' The sentence *sed ut possit .... debet* is a kind of parenthesis: 'although (granting that) their speech may be despised, yet our (that is, my) fidelity in recording it ought not to be looked down upon.'

[3] Namely, *solis;* for to *oriens* and *occidens* that substantive must be supplied.

[4] These so-called Scythians certainly did not speak of Europe and Asia; for the supposition that they were Europeans is a geographical error of our author. But we must remember that the whole speech is merely a spirited invention, probably of the Greek historian Callisthenes. The sententious style of barbarians is skilfully imitated.

[5] Respecting the distinction between the interrogatives *qui* and *quis*, which, probably to avoid the sound caused by three sibilants in *quis sis*, is not preserved here, see *Gram.* § 118.

[6] Namely, by the gods. The orator mentions various instruments for agriculture, war, and the duties of religion, which the mode of life followed by his nation required; and this mode of life he believes to have been marked out for them by the gods.

sagitta, patera. His utimer et cum amicis et adversus inimicos. Fruges amicis damus boum labore quaesitas; patera[1] cum iisdem vinum diis libamus; inimicos sagitta eminus, hasta comminus petimus. Sic Syriae regem et postea Persarum Medorumque superavimus, patuitque nobis iter usque in Aegyptum.[2] At tu, qui te gloriaris ad latrones persequendos venire, omnium gentium, quas adisti, latro es. Lydiam cepisti; Syriam occupasti; Persidem tenes; Bactrianos habes in potestate; Indos petisti; jam etiam ad pecora nostra avaras et insatiabiles manus porrigis. Quid tibi divitiis opus est, quae esurire cogunt? Primus omnium satietate parasti famem; ut quo plura haberes, acrius, quae non habes, cuperes. Non succurrit tibi, quamdiu circum Bactra[3] haereas? dum illos subigis, Sogdiani bellare coeperunt. Bellum tibi ex victoria nascitur. Nam ut major fortiorque sis quam quisquam, tamen alienigenam dominum pati nemo vult.

35. Transi modo Tanaim: scies, quam late pateant; nunquam tamen consequeris Scythas. Paupertas nostra velocior erit, quam exercitus tuus, qui praedam tot nationum vehit. Rursus cum procul abesse nos credes, videbis in tuis castris. Eadem enim velocitate et sequimur, et fugimus. Scytharum solitudines Graecis etiam proverbiis audio eludi.[4] At nos deserta et humano cultu vacua magis quam urbes et opulentos agros sequimur.[5] Proinde fortunam tuam pressis manibus tene.[6] Lubrica est, nec invita teneri potest. Salubre consilium sequens quam praesens tempus ostendit melius. Impone felicitati tuae frenos; facilius illam reges. Nostri sine pedibus dicunt esse fortunam, quae manus et pinnas[7] tantum habet; cum manus porrigit, pinnas quoque comprehendere non sinit. Denique si deus es, tribuere mortalibus beneficia debes, non sua eripere; sin autem homo es, id quod es, semper esse te cogita. Stultum est eorum meminisse, propter quae tui obliviscaris.[8] Quibus bellum non

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[1] Instrumental ablative.

[2] At all events, we know that a Scythian race (towards the end of the seventh century before Christ), in pursuit of the Cimmerians, overran the west of Asia, as far as Gaza, and for a time held sway over Media and Syria.

[3] Bactra in its wider sense, for the places near the Jaxartes are meant.

[4] It was a proverbial expression among the Greeks, 'as desert as Scythia.'

[5] 'We love more;' that is, 'prefer.'

[6] 'Hold your fortune fast with your hands closed.'

[7] 'The wing feathers, or wings;' *pinnae* are a bird's means of flight, and are here used as an emblem of rapid motion.

[8] 'It is foolish in thee to think only of the cases of good fortune,

intuleris, bonis amicis poteris uti. Nam et firmissima est inter pares amicitia, et videntur pares, qui non fecerunt inter se periculum virium. Quos viceris,[1] amicos tibi esse cave credas: inter dominum et servum nulla amicitia est: etiam in pace belli tamen jura servantur.[2] Jurando gratiam Scythas sancire ne credideris:[3] colendo fidem, jurant. Graecorum ista cautio est, qui pacta consignant, et deos invocant: nos religionem in ipsa fide novimus. Qui non reverentur homines, fallunt deos. Nec tibi amico opus est, de cujus benivolentia dubites. Ceterum nos et Asiae et Europae custodes habebis: Bactra, nisi dividat Tanais, contingimus: ultra Tanaim usque ad Thraciam colimus; Thraciae Macedoniam conjunctam esse fama est. Utrique imperio tuo finitimos, hostes an amicos velis esse, considera.

36. Haec barbarus. Contra rex fortuna sua et consiliis eorum se usurum esse respondet. Nam et fortunam, cui confidat, et consilium suadentium, ne quid temere et audacter faciat, secuturum. Dimissisque legatis, in praeparatas rates exercitum imposuit. In proris clipeatos locaverat, jussos in genua subsidere, quo tutiores essent adversus ictus sagittarum. Post hos qui tormenta intenderent[4] stabant, et ab utroque latere, et a fronte circumdati armatis. Reliqui, qui post tormenta constiterant, remigem[5] loricam indutum scutorum testudine armati protegebant. Idem ordo in illis quoque ratibus, quae equitem vehebant, servatus est. Major pars a puppe[6] nantes equos loris trahebat. At illos, quos utres stramento repleti vehebant, objectae rates tuebantur. Ipse rex cum delectis primus ratem solvit, et in ripam dirigi jussit. Cui Scythae admotos ordines equitum in primo ripae margine opponunt, ut ne applicari quidem terrae rates possent. Ceterum praeter hanc speciem ripis praesidentis exercitus, ingens navigantes terror invaserat: namque cursum gubernatores, cum obliquo flumine impellerentur, regere non poterant, vacillantesque milites, et ne excuterentur solliciti, nautarum ministeria turbaverant. Ne tela quidem conati nisu[7] vibrare poterant, cum prior standi sine periculo, quam

which lead thee to forget thy human nature, and the fact that thou mayest be unfortunate.'

[1] For this subjunctive, see *Gram.* § 361.

[2] That is, even in peace they remain enemies, and continue towards each other on the footing of war.

[3] Why not *ne credas?* See Zumpt, §§ 529, note, and 586.

[4] 'Who should stretch the war-engines;' that is, the engines for throwing missiles. We speak of 'serving the guns.'

[5] Collectively for *remiges.* See Zumpt, § 364.

[6] Literally, 'from the stern;' that is, 'on the stern.'

[7] 'With the greatest exertion,' 'with the utmost effort;' as we say, 'straining every nerve:' *conati* well expresses concentrated exertion.

hostem incessendi cura esset. Tormenta saluti fuerunt, quibus in confertos ac temere se offerentes haud frustra excussa sunt tela. Barbari quoque ingentem vim sagittarum infudere ratibus. Vixque ullum fuit scutum, quod non pluribus simul spiculis perforaretur.

37. Jamque terrae rates applicabantur, cum acies clipeata consurgit, et hastas certo ictu, utpote libero nisu,[1] mittit e ratibus. Et ut territos recipientesque[2] equos videre, alacres mutua adhortatione in terram desiluere. Turbatis acriter pedem inferre coeperunt. Equitum deinde turmae, quae frenatos habebant equos, perfregere barbarorum aciem. Interim ceteri agmine dimicantium tecti aptavere se pugnae. Ipse rex, quod vigoris aegro adhuc corpori deerat, animi firmitate supplebat. Vox adhortantis non poterat audiri, nondum bene obducta cicatrice cervicis, sed dimicantem cuncti videbant. Itaque ipsi ducum fungebantur officio, aliusque alium adhortati, in hostem salutis immemores ruere coeperunt. Tum vero non ora, non arma, non clamorem hostium barbari tolerare potuerunt, omnesque effusis habenis (namque equestris acies erat) capessunt fugam. Quos rex, quamquam vexationem[3] invalidi corporis pati non poterat, per LXXX tamen stadia insequi perseveravit. Jamque linquente animo suis praecepit, ut donec lucis aliquid superesset, fugientium tergis inhaererent: ipse exhaustis etiam animi viribus, in castra se recepit, reliquum[4] substitit. Transierant jam Liberi Patris terminos;[5] quorum monumenta lapides erant crebris intervallis dispositi, arboresque procerae, quarum stipites hedera contexerat. Sed Macedonas ira longius provexit: quippe media fere nocte redierunt, multis interfectis, pluribus captis, equosque M et DCCC abegere. Ceciderunt autem Macedonum equites LX, pedites C fere, mille saucii fuerunt.

38. Haec expeditio deficientem magna ex parte Asiam fama tam opportunae victoriae domuit. Invictos Scythas esse crediderant: quibus fractis nullam gentem Macedonum

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[1] 'Because with a free (unimpeded) strain.'

[2] 'Taking back the horses;' that is, wheeling round and riding back.

[3] 'The shaking.'

[4] An adverb, formed like *ceterum*, *plurimum* (see *Gram.* § 219, 3), 'he remained for the rest of the time quiet in the camp.'

[5] There was an old tradition that Dionysius (Bacchus) had extended his victorious march, which had for its object, or rather actually was itself, the spreading of the cultivation of the vine, as far as this boundary between settled and nomadic Asia. A long row of stones (perhaps on this side of the Jaxartes) and ivy-covered trees were considered by the Macedonians as marks how far Dionysius had come.

armis parem fore confitebantur. Itaque Sacae[1] misere legatos, qui pollicerentur, gentem imperata facturam. Moverat eos regis non virtus magis, quam[2] clementia in devictos Scythas: quippe captivos omnes sine pretio remiserat, ut fidem faceret, sibi cum ferocissimis gentium de fortitudine, non de ira fuisse certamen. Benigne igitur exceptis Sacarum legatis, comitem Excipinon dedit, adhuc admodum juvenem aetatis flore conciliatum sibi, qui cum specie corporis aequaret Hephaestionem, ei lepore haud sane virili par non erat.[3] Ipse, Cratero cum majore parte exercitus modicis itineribus sequi jusso, ad Maracanda urbem contendit, ex qua Spitamenes, comperto ejus adventu, Bactra perfugerat.[4] Itaque quatriduo rex longum itineris spatium emensus, pervenerat in eum locum, in quo, Menedemo duce, II milia peditum et CCC equites amiserat. Horum ossa tumulo contegi jussit, et inferias more patrio dedit. Jam Craterus, cum phalange subsequi jussus, ad regem pervenerat. Itaque ut omnes, qui defecerant, pariter belli clade premerentur, copias dividit, urique agros, et interfici puberes jussit.

39. Sogdiana regio majore ex parte deserta est: octingenta fere stadia in latitudinem vastae solitudines tenent. Ingens spatium rectae regionis[5] est, per quam amnis, Polytimetum vocant incolae, fertur. Torrentem eum ripae in tenuem alveum cogunt; deinde caverna accipit, et sub terram rapit. Cursus absconditi indicium[6] est aquae meantis sonus, cum ipsum solum, sub quo tantus amnis fluit, ne modico quidem resudet humore. Ex captivis Sogdianorum ad regem XXX nobilissimi, corporum robore eximio, perducti erant: qui ut per interpretem cognoverunt, jussu regis ipsos ad supplicium trahi, carmen laetantium modo canere, tripudiisque et lasciviori corporis motu[7] gaudium quoddam animi ostentare coepe-

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[1] This name is given to those of the Scythians who dwelt nearest the Jaxartes.

[2] For the different shades of meaning in *tam quam, non minus quam,* and *non magis quam,* see Zumpt, § 725.

[3] Hephaestion excelled him, therefore, in *lepos*. Our author characterises this quality as one 'not very well becoming tne dignity of a man.' *Lepos* is what we call 'grace of manners,' and is in truth more suitable for ladies than for the other sex, albeit a moderate degree of it is necessary to make a well-bred man.

[4] This is not Bactra on this side the Oxus, but another Bactra in Sogdiana, on the lower part of the Polytimetus, near the desert, where the modern Bokhara is situated.

[5] In the direction from west to east. See note, vii. 29.

[6] 'A sign of the subterranean course.'

[7] 'By leaping and rather wanton movements of the body,' as in a lively dance.

runt. Admiratus rex, tanta magnitudine animi oppetere mortem, revocari eos jussit, causam tam effusae laetitiae, cum supplicium ante oculos haberent, requirens. Illi, si ab alio occiderentur, tristes morituros fuisse respondent; nunc a tanto rege, victore omnium gentium, majoribus suis redditos,[1] honestam mortem, quam fortes viri voto quoque expeterent, carminibus sui moris laetitiaque celebrare. Tum rex: Quaero itaque,[2] an vivere velitis non inimici mihi, cujus beneficio victuri estis? Illi, nunquam se inimicos hosti[3] fuisse respondent. Si quis ipsos beneficio, quam injuria experiri maluisset, certaturos fuisse, ne vincerentur officio. Interrogatique, quo pignore fidem obligaturi essent? vitam, quam acciperent, pignori futuram esse dixerunt: reddituros, quandoque[4] repetisset. Nec promissum fefellerunt. Nam qui remissi domos ierant, fide continuere populares; quattuor, inter custodes corporis[5] retenti, nulli Macedonum in regem caritate cesserunt.

40. In Sogdianis Peucolao cum tribus milibus peditum (neque enim majori praesidio indigebat) relicto, Bactra pervenit.[6] Inde Bessum Ecbatana duci jussit, interfecto Dareo poenas capite persoluturum. Iisdem fere diebus Ptolemaeus et Menidas peditum tria milia et equites mille adduxerunt, mercede militaturos. Alexander quoque ex Lycia cum pari numero peditum et D equitibus venit. Totidem ex Syria Asclepiodorum sequebantur: Antipater Graecorum VIII milia, in quis DC equites erant, miserat. Itaque exercitu aucto, ad ea, quae defectione turbata erant, componenda processit,[7] interfectisque consternationis[8] auctoribus, quarto die

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[1] A softened expression (*euphemismus*) for 'put to death.'

[2] Regarding the omission of *ait*, see Zumpt, § 772. This is the only passage in Curtius in which *itaque* occurs in the second place; *igitur*, however, is placed by him sometimes first, sometimes second. See *Gram.* § 197, 10, note 2.

[3] 'That they had never entertained any feelings of hostility towards him personally, though they had been obliged to carry on war against him.'

[4] For *quandocunque*. See Zumpt, §§ 128 and 288, foot-note. *Quandoque* is an adverb, 'at one time or another;' *quandocunque* a conjunction, 'whenever.'

[5] Here the *agema* of the Macedonian cavalry. See vi. 26.

[6] Alexander winters in Bactra, 329–328 B. C.

[7] He breaks up from Bactra to put down a revolt, and then marches to the city of Margania, or the district of Margiana, on the river Margus, a very fruitful oasis to the west of the Oxus and of Sogdiana, now *Mera* on the *Murghale*. The region is now less accessible, and consequently less known, than it was in antiquity and in the middle ages.

[8] Equivalent to *tumultus*, *rebellionis*.

ad flumen Oxum perventum est. Hic, quia limum vehit, turbidus semper, insalubris est potui. Itaque puteos miles coeperat fodere. Nec tamen humo alte egesta existebat humor; cum[1] in ipso tabernaculo regis conspectus est fons, quem quia tarde notaverant, subito extitisse finxerunt. Rexque ipse credi voluit, deorum donum id fuisse. Superatis deinde amnibus Ocho et Oxo, ad urbem Marganiam pervenit. Circa eam VI oppidis condendis electa sedes est: duo ad Meridiem versa, quattuor spectantia Orientem, modicis inter se spatiis distabant, ne procul repetendum esset mutuum auxilium. Haec omnia sita sunt in editis collibus, tum velut freni domitarum gentium, nunc originis suae oblita serviunt, quibus imperaverunt.

41. Et cetera quidem pacaverat rex. Una erat petra, quam Arimazus Sogdianus cum XXX milibus armatorum obtinebat, alimentis ante congestis, quae tantae multitudini vel[2] per biennium suppeterent. Petra in altitudinem XXX eminet stadia, circuitu C et L complectitur. Undique abscisa et abrupta semita perangusta aditur. In medio altitudinis spatio habet specum, cujus os artum et obscurum est; paulatim deinde ulteriora panduntur; ultima etiam altos recessus habent.[3] Fontes per totum fere spatium manant, e quibus collatae aquae per prona montis flumen emittunt. Rex, loci difficultate spectata, statuerat inde abire; cupido deinde incessit animo,[4] naturam quoque fatigandi. Prius tamen quam fortunam obsidionis experiretur, Cophen (Artabazi hic filius erat) misit ad barbaros, qui suaderet, ut dederent rupem. Arimazes loco fretus superbe multa respondit, ad ultimum, an Alexander volare posset? interrogat. Quae nuntiata regi sic accendere animum, ut adhibitis, cum quibus consultare erat solitus, indicaret insolentiam barbari, eludentis ipsos, quia pinnas non haberent. Se autem proxima nocte effecturum, ut crederet Macedones etiam volare. Trecentos, inquit, pernicissimos[5] juvenes ex suis quisque copiis perducite ad me, qui per calles et paene invias rupes domi pecora agere consueverant. Illi praestantes et levitate corporum et ardore animorum strenue adducunt, quos intuens rex, Vobiscum, inquit, o juvenes et mei aequales, urbium invictarum ante munimenta superavi, montium juga perenni nive

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[1] Compare note, vii. 20.

[2] As to the use of *vel*, see Zumpt, § 734.

[3] Literally, 'its furthest parts have even deep recesses;' that is, 'at its extremity there are recesses which run far into the mountain.'

[4] It might also have been the accusative. See *Gram.* §§ 250 and 265.

[5] See note vii. 32.

obruta[1] emensus sum, angustias Ciliciae intravi, Indiae sine lassitudine vim frigoris sum perpessus. Et mei documenta vobis dedi, et vestra[2] habeo. Petra, quam videtis, unum aditum habet, quem barbari obsident, cetera negligunt: nullae vigiliae sunt, nisi quae castra nostra spectant. Invenietis viam, si sollerter rimati fueritis aditus ferentes ad cacumen. Nihil tam alte natura constituit, quo virtus non possit eniti.[3] Experiendo quae ceteri desperaverunt, Asiam habemus in potestate. Evadite in cacumen, quod cum ceperitis, candidis velis signum mihi dabitis: ego copiis admotis hostem in nos a vobis convertam. Praemium erit ei, qui primus occupaverit verticem, talenta X, uno minus accipiet, qui proximus ei venerit, eademque ad decem homines servabitur portio.[4] Certum autem habeo, vos non tam liberalitatem intueri meam, quam voluntatem.

42. His animis regem audierunt, ut jam cepisse verticem viderentur. Dimissique ferreos cuneos, quos inter saxa defigerent, validosque funes parabant. Rex circumvectus petram, qua minime asper ac praeruptus aditus videbatur, secunda vigilia, quod bene verteret,[5] ingredi jubet. Illi alimentis in biduum sumptis, gladiis modo atque hastis armati subire[6] coeperunt. Ac primo pedibus ingressi sunt: deinde ut in praerupta perventum est, alii manibus eminentia saxa complexi levare[7] semet; alii adjectis funium laqueis evasere, cum cuneos inter saxa defigerent, gradus subinde, quis insisterent.[8] Diem inter metum laboremque consumpserunt. Per aspera nisis duriora restabant, et crescere altitudo petrae videbatur. Illa vero miserabilis erat facies, cum ii, quos instabilis gradus fefellerat,[9] ex praecipiti devolverentur. Mox eadem in se patienda alieni casus ostendebat exemplum. Per has tamen difficultates eniuntur in verticem montis,

[1] Namely the heights of the Parapamisus, or so-called Indian Caucasus.

[2] Equivalent to *vestri:* 'of you I have proofs.'

[3] 'To climb.'

[4] 'Rate.' From *pro portione*, 'according to rate,' a new word is formed, *proportio*.

[5] The wish *quod bene vertat*, 'may our undertaking have a prosperous issue,' was expressed by Alexander when he gave the order.

[6] 'To ascend' the mountain; literally, 'to go from under.'

[7] For *levavere*. The ambiguity which results from the contraction of the perfect into the same form as the infinitive, is, in other passages as well as this, not avoided. See the case of *videre*, iv. 37.

[8] They from time to time fixed wedges between the rocks, on which they might step.

[9] 'Those whom the unsteady step had deceived:' the step deceives in making the soldier believe his footing to be secure, and then giving way.

omnes fatigatione continuati laboris affecti, quidam multati[1] parte membrorum; pariterque eos et nox et somnus oppressit. Stratis passim corporibus in inviis et in asperis saxorum,[2] periculi instantis obliti in lucem quieverunt; tandemque velut ex alto sopore excitati, occultas subjectasque ipsis valles rimantes, ignari in qua parte petrae tanta vis hostium condita esset, fumum specus infra se ipsos evolutum notaverunt. Ex quo intellectum, illam hostium latebram esse. Itaque hastis imposuere quod convenerat signum; totoque e numero duos et XXX in ascensu interisse agnoscunt.

43. Rex non cupidine magis potiundi loci, quam vice[3] eorum, quos ad tam manifestum periculum miserat, sollicitus, toto die cacumina montis intuens restitit. Noctu demum, cum obscuritas conspectum oculorum ademisset, ad curandum corpus recessit. Postero die, nondum satis clara luce, primus vela, signum capti verticis, conspexit. Sed ne falleretur acies,[4] dubitare cogebat varietas coeli, nunc internitente lucis fulgore, nunc condito. Verum ut liquidior lux apparuit coelo, dubitatio exempta est; vocatumque Cophen, per quem barbarorum animos temptaverat, mittit ad eos, qui moneret, nunc saltem salubrius consilium inirent: sin autem[5] fiducia loci perseverarent, ostendi a tergo jussit, qui ceperant verticem. Cophes admissus suadere coepit Arimazi petram tradere,[6] gratiam regis inituro, si tantas res molientem in unius rupis obsidione haerere non coëgisset. Ille, ferocius superbiusque quam antea locutus, abire Cophen jubet. At is prensum[7] manu barbarum rogat, ut secum extra specum prodeat: quo impetrato, juvenes in cacumine ostendit, ejusque superbiae haud immerito illudens, pinnas habere ait milites Alexandri. Jamque e Macedonum castris signorum concentus et totius exercitus clamor audiebatur. Ea res, sicut pleraque belli vana et inania,[8] barbaros ad deditionem traxit. Quippe occupati metu paucitatem eorum, qui

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[1] 'Injured,' in relation to the body: *multare* frequently means 'to punish,' particularly by inflicting a fine (*multa*).

[2] As to this construction, see *Gram.* § 275, *c*, note 3.

[3] The accusative *vicem* is more frequently used. See Zumpt, § 453.

[4] 'Whether his eyes (eyesight) were not deceived.' *Num* is the regular particle, and this is a solitary instance of *dubitare ne;* the construction is taken from that of *vide ne*, 'take care that . . . . not.'

[5] Though *sin* has itself the meaning of 'if however' or 'but if,' yet *autem* or *vero* is not unfrequently added. See Zumpt, § 342.

[6] The regular construction after *suadere* is *ut traderet;* but see *Gram.* § 375, note 3.

[7] *Prendere, prensus*, common contracted forms for *prehendere, prehensus*.

[8] 'Vain and deceptive appearances, or occurrences, of war.'

a tergo erant, aestimare non poterant. Itaque Cophen (nam trepidantes reliquerat) strenue[1] revocant, et cum eo XXX principes mittunt, qui petram tradant, et ut incolumibus[2] abire liceat, paciscantur. Ille quamquam verebatur, ne conspecta juvenum paucitate deturbarent eos barbari, tamen et fortunae suae confisus, et Arimazi superbiae infensus, nullam se condicionem deditionis accipere respondit. Arimazes, desperatis magis quam perditis rebus,[3] cum propinquis nobilissimisque gentis suae descendit in castra: quos omnes verberibus affectos sub ipsis radicibus petrae crucibus jussit affigi. Multitudo dediticiorum incolis novarum urbium cum pecunia capta dono data est: Artabazus in petrae regionisque, quae apposita esset ei, tutela relictus.

[1] Equivalent to *protinus*, *continuo*, 'without delay.'

[2] See *Gram.* § 376, 3, with note; and Zumpt, § 601.

[3] That is, the affair was rather thrown up by himself in despair, than actually lost. In Latin we can say *despero rem* transitively, as well as *despero de re* intransitively. See Zumpt, § 417.



Tiara.

LIBER VIII.

(1) Alexander, after taking the rock of Arimazes, divides his army into several parts. Craterus takes vengeance for the defeat of Attinas, and, by a victory over the Dahae, completes the subjugation of this part of Sogdiana. Ambassadors come with proposals of peace to Alexander's head-quarters at Maracanda. (2) In the extensive, and for many years strictly-preserved hunting-forest of Bazaira, a hunt is appointed, in which the whole army engage, and during which Alexander, refusing the assistance of Lysimachus, kills a lion. (3) Clitus is appointed governor of Bactra, and a farewell feast is given in his honour. Alexander, when excited with wine, boasts of his deeds, and speaks slightingly of his father Philip. (4) Clitus expresses himself little satisfied with the conduct of the king, and depreciates the deeds of Alexander and the juniors (5,) and in his bitterness of spirit, goes so far as even to cast imputations upon Alexander's personal honour. The king can no longer restrain his wrath: his friends for some time prevent him by force from committing any act of violence; but when let free, he waits for Clitus at the entrance, and stabs him. (6) He is soon visited by the bitterest pangs of remorse, and after giving way to his despair for three days, is only quieted by the united efforts of the Macedonians. (7) The Bactrian exiles are conquered and entirely subdued in the district of Xenippa. (8) The pass into Nautaca is defended by Sysimithres. Alexander takes the fortification. (9) Sysimithres at last, induced by the arguments of Oxartes, surrenders, and is received to mercy and favour. (10) While the other portions of the army remain quiet in Nautaca (winter of 328–327 B.C.), he himself, with the cavalry, makes a rapid pursuit of the other rebels, and entirely suppresses the revolt. During this expedition, Philip, a royal page, and brother of Lysimachus, dies of over-exertion. Erigyius dies in the camp. (11) The king is freed from the necessity of making a campaign against the Dahae, as Spitamenes is murdered by his own wife. (12) She herself brings his head to Alexander's camp. (13) The Dahae, upon the murder of Spitamenes, seize Dataphernes, and give him up bound to Alexander. The king deposes some of his governors of provinces for mal-administration, and appoints others in their room. (14, 15) After resting for three months in Nautaca, Alexander breaks up, and marches through the district of Gabaza. During this expedition a severe storm comes on suddenly, in which many of the soldiers perish. (16) The satrap Oxyartes submits, and makes the king a feast, in which Alexander

sees Roxane, the fair daughter of his host, and, attracted by her beauty, marries her in due form. (17) Alexander now directs his thoughts to the conquest of India. The army is supplemented by 30,000 chosen Asiatics: the splendour of the arms of the Macedonians is increased. Alexander wishes to receive from the Macedonians the honours due to the son of a god. In this attempt he is assisted by certain Greeks. (18) At a great festival, Cleo, a Sicilian, proposes that thenceforward the king shall be honoured as a god. (19) Callisthenes, a native of Olynthus, censures the deification of a living man, and ridicules the proposal of Cleo. (20) The Macedonians approve of Callisthenes' opinion, and Alexander is forced to give up his wish. He gives orders, however, for the Asiatics to worship him, and is seriously angry with Polypercon for laughing at this. (21) A conspiracy is formed among the royal pages against the king's life. Hermolaus and his beloved Sostratus, its authors, take into their confidence seven others; but a considerable time elapses before it can be so arranged that they shall have the watch together at the king's quarters. (22) The time for executing the deed arrives: but at first, the king remains unusually long at supper, and even when he is retiring to his couch, he is induced by a woman, supposed to be a prophetess, to return to the banqueting-room, and continue there with his guests till morning. The watch is relieved, but the conspirators remain till morning. They find, however, no opportunity of executing their design, but Alexander rewards them handsomely for what he considers their kind attention in waiting the whole night. (23) One of the conspirators reveals the matter to his brother, who hurries with him to the king's quarters. Alexander is roused from sleep, and gives orders for the apprehension of the conspirators. (24) When brought up for trial, all confess. Hermolaus speaks, and alleges the cause of their hatred of the king to have been his cruelty. (25) He expresses himself in bitter terms regarding the king's pride and contempt of the manners of his fatherland. (26, 27, 28) Alexander defends himself against the charges of cruelty and avarice, explains the reasons for his mild treatment of the Asiatics, and why he wished divine honours from them. He frees the relatives of the conspirators from all responsibility for the crime. (29) The criminals who have confessed are put to death by their comrades. Callisthenes too, being accused of having instigated the youths, shares their fate. (30) Alexander commences his expedition to India, in the end of spring 327 B. C. The rivers and climate of the country are described. (31) Its peculiar natural productions; the customs of the inhabitants. (32) The luxury of the kings. (33) The life of the wise men of the land is depicted. (34) The nearest Indian princes give themselves up. Alexander intrusts the command of the main body of the army to Hephaestion and Perdiccas, ordering them to advance direct to the Indus. He himself, with Craterus, marches through the mountainous district on the north

of the Cophen (now the Cabul), and razes to the ground the first city that opposes his progress. (35) He lights unexpectedly upon the city of Nysa. The inhabitants surrender, and the town is recognised as having been founded by the god Dionysius. (36) The Macedonians, throwing aside all discipline, for ten days celebrate Bacchanalia, on a mountain near Nysa. (37) The army is divided into several parts, and many cities are taken, partly deserted. Alexander advances to the strong town of Mazagae, and there receives a wound. (38) Nevertheless the siege is carried on with vigour. The queen, Cleophis, surrenders, and gains Alexander's favour. (39) The rock of Aornis on the Indus is taken possession of by the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns, who refuse to submit. An Indian guides the Macedonians to a peak, separated from Aornis by a deep cleft. The soldiers zealously and rapidly fill up this cleft. (40) The position of the barbarians is stormed, but all Alexander's attempts to take it are vain. (41) However, he still maintains the siege, and the Indians, to his great joy, make an unexpected retreat by night. Alexander subdues the neighbouring town of Ecbolima. (42) Alexander unites at the Indus with the division under Hephaestion, and crosses that river by a bridge previously constructed. Omphis, the ruler of the country, who has already, from fear of his neighbours, Porus and Abisares, entered into communication with Alexander, now gives up his person and all his means of carrying on war to the disposal of Alexander. (43) Alexander acknowledges him as *Taxiles* (king), and returns him his presents with most liberal additions. (44) Abisares, king of the mountainous territory beyond the Hydaspes, sends ambassadors to give in his submission. Porus refuses to obey the summons to submit, and with his troops, elephants, and war-chariots, takes up a position on the Hydaspes, to oppose Alexander's crossing. (45) The sight of the broad and rapid river, and of the hostile array on the opposite side, fills the Macedonians with alarm. Skirmishes on the islands in the river terminate in the destruction of several gallant Macedonians. (46) Alexander deceives Porus as to the place at which he intends to cross, and, assisted by a storm, succeeds in making the passage. (47) Hages, the brother of Porus, attacks him with the war-chariots, but the state of the ground is unfavourable for this purpose, and he is routed. (48) Porus himself comes resolutely on. Alexander arranges the plan of the battle, which is immediately begun. (49) The Indians fight in irregular and scattered order. Porus heads the attack of the elephants, which at the onset is successful, but afterwards is broken by the light troops and the compact Macedonian phalanx. (50) After the other elephants are driven off, Porus continues the fight gallantly, riding on his; till at last he sinks down half dead, whereupon all resistance ceases. (51) Porus, protected to the last by his faithful elephant, is brought before Alexander, and by his manly and prudent answers gains the favour of the conqueror; the most beautiful trait in whose cha-

racter was, that he always paid respect to what was honourable or noble in his enemies.

Alexander, majore fama quam gloria[1] in dicionem redacta petra, cum propter vagum hostem spargendae manus essent, in tres partes divisit exercitum. Hephaestionem uni, Coenon alteri duces dederat: ipse ceteris praeerat. Sed non eadem mens omnibus barbaris fuit. Armis quidam subacti; plures ante certamen imperata fecerunt, quibus eorum, qui in defectione perseveraverant, urbes agrosque jussit attribui. At exules Bactriani cum DCCC Massagetarum[2] equitibus proximos vicos vastaverunt. Ad quos coercendos Attinas, regionis ejus praefectus, CCC equites, insidiarum, quae parabantur, ignarus, eduxit. Namque hostis in silvis, quae erant forte campo junctae, armatum militem condidit, paucis propellentibus pecora, ut improvidum ad insidias praeda perduceret.[3] Itaque incomposito agmine solutisque ordinibus Attinas praedabundus[4] sequebatur; quem praetergressum silvam, qui in ea consederant, ex improviso adorti, cum omnibus interemerunt. Celeriter ad Craterum hujus cladis fama perlata est; qui cum omni equitatu supervenit: et Massagetae quidem jam refugerant, Dahae mille oppressi sunt: quorum clade totius regionis finita defectio est. Alexander quoque, Sogdianis rursus subactis, Maracanda repetit. Ibi Berdes, quem ad Scythas super Bosporum colentes miserat,[5] cum legatis gentis occurrit. Phrataphernes quoque, qui Chorasmiis praeerat,[6] Massagetis et Dahis regionum confinio adjunctus, miserat, qui facturum imperata pollicerentur. Scythae petebant, ut regis sui filiam matrimonio sibi jungeret: si dedignaretur affinitatem, principes Macedonum cum primoribus suae gentis connubio coire pateretur: ipsum quoque regem venturum ad eum pollicebantur. Utraque legatione benigne audita, Hephaestionem et Artabazum opperiens, stativa habuit: quibus adjunctis, in regionem quae appellatur Bazaira pervenit.

2. Barbarae opulentiae in illis locis haud ulla sunt majora indicia, quam magnis nemoribus saltibusque nobilium fera-

[1] The subjugation of Arimazes and his rock was rather a matter to be talked about and praised at the time, than such as would bring Alexander enduring glory.

[2] A Scythian (nomadic) tribe.

[3] 'In order, by the prospect of booty, to lead him who suspected nothing into the ambush.'

[4] As to the termination *bundus*, see *Gram.* § 145.

[5] See vii. 26.

[6] Not, however, as a Persian satrap, but as an independent king. The Chorasmii appear to have dwelt about the modern Chiwa.

rum greges clusi.[1] Spatiosas ad hoc eligunt silvas, crebris perennium aquarum[2] fontibus amoenas; muris nemora cinguntur, turresque habent venantium receptacula. Quattuor continuis aetatibus[3] intactum saltum fuisse constabat; quem Alexander cum toto exercitu ingressus, agitari undique feras jussit. Inter quas cum leo magnitudinis rarae ipsum regem invasurus incurreret, forte Lysimachus, qui postea regnavit,[4] proximus Alexandro, venabulum objicere ferae coeperat. Quo rex repulso et abire jusso, adjecit, tam a semet uno quam a Lysimacho leonem interfici posse. Lysimachus enim quondam cum venaretur in Syria, occiderat quidem eximiae magitudinis feram solus, sed laevo humero usque ad ossa laceratus ad ultimum periculi[5] pervenerat. Id ipsum exprobrans ei rex, fortius, quam locutus est, fecit. Nam feram non excepit modo, sed etiam uno vulnere occidit. Fabulam,[6] quae objectum leoni a rege Lysimachum temere vulgavit, ab eo casu, quem supra diximus, ortam esse crediderim. Ceterum Macedones, quamquam prospero eventu defunctus erat Alexander, tamen scivere gentis suae more,[7] ne aut pedes venaretur, aut sine delectis principum atque amicorum. Ille, IV milibus ferarum dejectis, in eodem saltu cum toto exercitu epulatus est.

3. Inde Maracanda reditum est: acceptaque aetatis excusatione ab Artabazo, provinciam ejus destinat Clito. Hic erat, qui apud Granicum amnem nudo capite[8] regem dimicantem clipeo suo texit, et Rhosacis manum capiti regis imminentem gladio amputavit: vetus Philippi miles, multisque bellicis operibus clarus. Hellanice, quae Alexandrum educaverat,[9] soror ejus, haud secus quam mater a rege diligebatur. Ob has causas validissimam imperii partem fidei ejus tutelaeque commisit. Jamque iter parare in posterum jussus, sollemni

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[1] Another form for *clausi:* the compounds have *u* exclusively.

[2] 'Running streams:' *perennis*, flowing not only at the rainy season, but during the whole year.

[3] 'Four consecutive generations.'

[4] 'Was a king,' namely of Thrace, and after his conquest of Antigonus, of Asia Minor also.

[5] 'Into the utmost danger:' usually *ad summum periculum.*

[6] 'The story.'

[7] 'In accordance with their national manners, they directed, or decreed' (*sciscere*); that is, according to their free constitution, by which, for instance, the king had not power to condemn a Macedonian citizen to death.

[8] 'With his head bare;' for his helmet had been shattered by a previous blow, and his head was therefore strictly *nudatum.*

[9] If we look at the derivation of the two verbs *educare* and *educere*, *eduxerat* would have been the proper word here; for she had nursed him and brought him up, not educated him. But the distinction is not always observed.

et tempestivo[1] adhibetur convivio. In quo rex cum multo incaluisset mero, immodicus aestimator sui,[2] celebrare quae gesserat coepit, gravis etiam eorum auribus, qui sentiebant vera memorari. Silentium tamen habuere seniores, donec Philippi res orsus obterere,[3] nobilem apud Chaeroneam victoriam sui operis fuisse jactavit, ademptamque sibi malignitate[4] et invidia patris tantae rei gloriam. Illum quidem, seditione inter Macedones milites et Graecos mercenarios orta, debilitatum vulnere, quod in ea consternatione acceperat, jacuisse, non alias[5] quam simulatione mortis tutiorem: se corpus ejus protexisse clipeo suo, ruentesque in illum sua manu occisos. Quae patrem nunquam aequo animo esse confessum, invitum filio debentem salutem suam. Itaque post expeditionem, quam sine eo fecisset ipse in Illyrios, victorem scripsisse se patri, fusos fugatosque hostes, nec affuisse usquam Philippum. Laude dignos esse, non qui Samothracum initia viserent,[6] cum Asiam uri vastarique oporteret, sed eos, qui magnitudine rerum fidem antecessissent.

4. Haec et his similia laeti audiere juvenes, ingrata senioribus erant, maxime propter Philippum, sub quo diutius vixerant; cum Clitus, ne ipse quidem satis sobrius, ad eos, qui infra ipsum[7] cubabant, conversus, Euripidis rettulit carmen,[8] ita ut sonus magis, quam sermo exaudiri posset a rege, quo significabatur, male instituisse Graecos, quod tropaeis regum dumtaxat nomina inscriberent: alieno enim sanguine partam gloriam intercipi. Itaque rex, cum suspicaretur malignius habitum esse sermonem, percontari proximos

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[1] 'Which began betimes,' before the usual dinner-hour.

[2] 'Who valued himself at an extravagant rate,' put far too high a value on his own deeds.

[3] Equivalent to *diminuere*, 'to depreciate.'

[4] 'Ill will;' opposed to *benignitas*, the disposition of a man who wishes prosperity to others.

[5] *Alias* has here the usual sense of *alia re*, which perhaps ought to be the reading.

[6] 'Who went to see the secret rites of the Samothracians.' In the islands of Lemnos, Imbros, and Samothrace, there prevailed an ancient mysterious worship, of which deities called Cabiri were the objects. As only initiated persons were admitted to partake in this worship, the rites were called in Greek *μυστήρια*, Latin, *initia*. Philip had caused himself to be initiated, for this superstition seems to have had many followers in Macedonia.

[7] 'On his right hand;' for the ancients, when at meals, reclined on the left arm; and consequently, when any one wished to say anything in a low tone to his neighbour on the left, he had to bend round considerably, whereas he could speak directly into the ear of the one on the right.

[8] From the tragedy of Andromache, line 693.

coepit, quid ex Clito audissent. Et illis ad silendum obstinatis,[1] Clitus paulatim majore voce Philippi acta bellaque in Graecia gesta commemorat, omnia praesentibus praeferens. Hinc inter juniores senesque orta contentio est; et rex, velut patienter audiret, quis Clitus obterebat laudes ejus, ingentem iram conceperat. Ceterum cum animo videretur imperaturus, si finem procaciter[2] orto sermoni Clitus imponeret, nihil eorum omittente,[3] magis exasperabatur. Jamque Clitus etiam Parmenionem defendere audebat, et Philippi de Atheniensibus victoriam Thebarum praeferebat excidio, non vino modo, sed etiam animi prava contentione provectus.[4] Ad ultimum, Si moriendum, inquit, est pro te, Clitus est primus: at cum victoriae arbitrium agis,[5] praecipuum ferunt,[6] qui procacissime patris tui memoriae illudunt. Sogdianam regionem mihi attribuis, totiens rebellem, et non modo indomitam, sed quae ne subigi quidem possit.[7] Mittor ad feras bestias, praecipitia[8] ingenia sortitas. Sed quae ad me pertinent transeo. Philippi milites spernis, oblitus, nisi hic Atharrias, senex juniores pugnam detrectantes revocasset, adhuc nos circa Halicarnassum haesuros fuisse. Quomodo igitur Asiam etiam cum istis junioribus subjecisti? Verum est, ut opinor, quod avunculum tuum[9] in Italia dixisse constat, ipsum in viros incidisse, te in feminas.

5. Nihil ex omnibus inconsulte ac temere jactis regem magis moverat, quam Parmenionis cum honore mentio illata. Dolorem tamen rex pressit, contentus jussisse[10] ut convivio excederet. Nec quicquam aliud adjecit, quam forsitan eum, si diutius locutus foret, exprobraturum sibi fuisse

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[1] *Obstino*, 'I resolve upon something,' with the infinitive or *ad*; the participle *obstinatus* is in most frequent use, in the sense of a man who has resolved on something, and sticks to his point.

[2] 'In an impudent, irritating manner.'

[3] Namely, *Clito*.

[4] 'Impelled by his wicked, quarrelsome disposition.'

[5] 'When you give judgment as to the victory.' *Agere* serves with many substantives to form a paraphrase. The *arbitrium victoriae* refers to the distribution of rewards and punishments after the victory.

[6] *Praecipuum*, 'that which is taken first;' here, therefore, 'those bear away the best part of the rewards, who,' &c.

[7] As to this subjunctive, see *Gram.* § 360, 3.

[8] Literally, 'headlong,' 'steep,' an epithet properly applied to a hill, &c.; here given to the natural disposition, meaning therefore 'uncontrollable.'

[9] Alexander of Epirus, who, in the year 331 B.C., crossed over into Italy, to assist the Tarentines against the Lucanians, and fell in a battle.

[10] For a notice of this construction, see Zumpt, § 590.

vitam a semetipso datam: hoc enim superbe saepe jactasse. Atque illum cunctantem adhuc surgere, qui proximi ei cubuerant, injectis manibus, jurgantes monentesque conabantur abducere. Clitus cum abstraheretur, ad pristinam violentiam[1] ira quoque adjecta, suo pectore tergum illius esse defensum; nunc, postquam tanti meriti praeterierit tempus, etiam memoriam invisam esse proclamat. Attali quoque caedem objiciebat, et ad ultimum Jovis, quem patrem sibi Alexander assereret, oraculum eludens, veriora se regi, quam patrem ejus, respondisse dicebat. Jam tantum irae conceperat rex, quantum vix sobrius ferre potuisset. Enimvero olim[2] mero sensibus victis, ex lecto repente prosiluit. Attoniti amici, ne positis quidem, sed abjectis poculis, consurgunt, in eventum rei, quam tanto impetu acturus esset, intenti. Alexander, rapta lancea ex manibus armigeri, Clitum adhuc eadem linguae intemperantia furentem percutere conatus, a Ptolemaeo et Perdicca inhibetur. Medium complexi et obluctari perseverantem morabantur; Lysimachus et Leonnatus etiam lanceam abstulerant. Ille militum fidem implorans, comprehendi se a proximis amicorum, quod Dareo nuper accidisset, exclamat, signumque tuba dari, ut ad regiam armati coïrent, jubet. Tum vero Ptolemaeus et Perdiccas genibus advoluti orant, ne in tam praecipiti ira perseveret, spatiumque potius animo det: omnia postero die justius executurum. Sed clausae erant aures, obstrepente ira.[3] Itaque impotens animi[4] procurrit in regiae vestibulum, et vigili excubanti hasta ablata, constitit in aditu, quo necesse erat his, qui simul coenaverant, egredi. Abierant ceteri. Clitus ultimus sine lumine exibat. Quem rex, quisnam esset? interrogat. Eminebat etiam in voce sceleris, quod parabat, atrocitas. Et ille jam non suae, sed regis irae memor, Clitum esse, et de convivio exire respondit. Haec dicentis latus hasta transfixit: morientisque sanguine aspersus, I nunc, inquit, ad Phillippum et Parmenionem et Attalum.

6. Male humanis ingeniis natura consuluit, quod plerumque non futura sed transacta perpendimus. Quippe rex, postquam ira mente decesserat, etiam ebrietate discussa, magnitudinem facinoris sera aestimatione perspexit. Videbat tunc immodica libertate abusum, sed alioquin egregium bello virum, et nisi erubesceret fateri, servitorem sui, occi-

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[1] 'To his former violence (the natural *prava animi contentio* mentioned above) there was now added anger,' in consequence of the insult of being turned out of the company.

[2] 'Long before;' *olim* in the not unfrequent sense of *dudum*.

[3] 'While wrath raged within him.'

[4] 'Not being master of his excitement.'

sum. Detestabile carnificis ministerium occupaverat rex, verborum licentiam, quae vino poterat imputari, nefanda caede ultus. Manabat toto vestibulo[1] cruor paulo ante convivae: vigiles attoniti et stupentibus similes procul stabant, liberioremque poenitentiam solitudo excipiebat.[2] Ergo hastam ex corpore jacentis evolsam retorsit in semet; jamque admoverat pectori cum advolant vigiles, et repugnanti e manibus extorquent, allevatumque in tabernaculum deferunt. Ille[3] humi prostraverat corpus, gemitu ejulatuque miserabili totam personans regiam. Laniare[4] deinde os unguibus, et circumstantes rogare, ne se tanto dedecori superstitem esse[5] paterentur. Inter has preces tota nox extracta est.[6] Scrutantemque, num ira deorum ad tantum nefas actus esset, subit anniversarium sacrificium Libero Patri non esse redditum statuto tempore. Itaque inter vinum et epulas caede commissa, iram dei fuisse manifestam. Ceterum magis eo movebatur, quod omnium amicorum animos videbat attonitos: neminem cum ipso sociare sermonem postea ausurum: vivendum esse in solitudine velut ferae bestiae, terrenti alias, alias timenti.[7] Prima deinde luce tabernaculo corpus, sicut adhuc cruentum erat, jussit inferri. Quo posito ante ipsum, lacrimis obortis, Hanc, inquit, nutrici meae gratiam rettuli, cujus duo filii apud Miletum pro mea gloria occubuere mortem, hic frater, unicum orbitatis solatium, a me inter epulas occisus est. Quo nunc se conferet misera? Omnibus ejus unus supersum,[8] quem solum aequis oculis videre non poterit. Et ego servatorum meorum latro,[9] revertar in patriam, ut ne dextram quidem nutrici sine memoria calamitatis ejus offerre possim! Et cum finis lacrimis querelisque non fieret, jussu amicorum corpus ablatum est. Rex triduum jacuit inclusus. Quem ut armigeri corporisque custodes ad moriendum obstinatum esse cognoverunt, universi in tabernaculum irrumpunt, diuque precibus ipsorum reluctatum aegre vicerunt, ut cibum

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[1] The ablative with *toto* is generally used without *in*. See Zumpt, § 482.

[2] 'The solitude afforded opportunity for the more unrestrained expression of remorse.'

[3] The emphatic 'he.' See Zumpt, § 702.

[4] The descriptive infinitive. See *Gram.* § 390.

[5] 'To survive;' *superstes* used by Curtius with the dative, by others generally with the genitive. See Zumpt, § 411.

[6] Perhaps we can best give the force of *extrahere* by translating 'The whole night (and a long wearisome night it was) was spent.'

[7] Beautifully said: 'a wild beast terrifies some, fears others.'

[8] 'I alone survive all her relatives.'

[9] 'Murderer;' a mere robber is *praedo*.

caperet. Quoque minus caedis puderet, jure interfectum Clitum Macedones decernunt, sepultura quoque prohibituri, ni rex humari jussisset.

7. Igitur decem diebus maxime ad confirmandum pudorem apud Maracanda consumptis, cum parte exercitus Hephaestionem in regionem Bactrianam misit, commeatus in hiemem paraturum. Quam Clito autem destinaverat provinciam, Amyntae dedit: ipse Xenippa[1] pervenit. Scythiae confinis est regio, habitaturque pluribus ac frequentibus vicis, quia ubertas terrae non indigenas modo detinet, sed etiam advenas invitat. Bactrianorum exulum, qui ab Alexandro defecerant, receptaculum fuerat. Sed postquam regem adventare compertum est, pulsi ab incolis II milia fere et quingenti congregantur. Omnes equites erant, etiam in pace latrociniis assueti: tum ferocia ingenia non bellum modo, sed etiam veniae desperatio[2] efferaverat. Itaque ex improviso adorti Amyntam praetorem Alexandri, diu anceps proelium fecerant: ad ultimum DCC suorum amissis, quorum CCC hostis cepit, dedere terga victoribus, haud sane inulti, quippe LXXX Macedonum interfecerunt, praeterque eos CCC et L saucii facti sunt. Veniam tamen etiam post alteram defectionem impetraverunt.

8. His in fidem acceptis, in regionem, quam Nautaca appellant,[3] rex cum toto exercitu venit. Satrapes erat Sysimithres, duobus ex sua matre filiis genitis; quippe apud eos parentibus stupro coire cum liberis fas est. Is armatis popularibus, fauces regionis, qua in artissimum cogitur, valido munimento saepserat.[4] Praeterfluebat torrens amnis; terga[5] petra claudebat: hanc manu perviam incolae fecerant. Sed aditus specus accipit lucem, interiora, nisi illato lumine, obscura sunt. Perpetuus cuniculus iter praebet in campos, ignotum nisi indigenis. At Alexander, quamquam angustias naturali situ munitas valida manu barbari tuebantur, tamen arietibus admotis munimenta, quae manu adjuncta erant,

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[1] Probably situated to the east of Maracanda.

[2] 'Despair of obtaining pardon.' As *despero veniam* can be said, as well as *de venia*, the substantive can govern the genitive, *desperatio vitae, salutis, libertatis.*

[3] These localities also are unknown, but were probably in the eastern and higher part of Sogdiana, towards the upper part of the Oxus and its tributaries.

[4] 'He had shut up (properly, hedged up) the entrance of the country, where it contracts itself into the narrowest compass, by a strong fortification.'

[5] The plural is used because the defenders were more than one. In the same manner we say of a number of soldiers, *terga vertunt,* 'they turn their backs.'

concussit, fundisque et sagittis propugnantium plerosque dejecit: quos ubi dispersos fugavit, ruinas munimentorum supergressus ad petram admovit exercitum. Ceterum interveniebat fluvius, coëuntibus aquis ex superiore fastigio in vallem; magnique operis videbatur tam vastam voraginem explere. Caedi tamen arbores et saxa congeri jussit: ingensque barbaros pavor, rudes ad talia opera, concusserat, excitatam molem subito cernentes.

9. Itaque rex ad deditionem metu posse compelli ratus, Oxarten misit nationis ejusdem, sed dicionis suae, qui suaderet duci, ut traderet petram. Interim ad augendam formidinem et turres admovebantur, et excussa tormentis tela micabant.[1] Itaque verticem petrae, omni alio praesidio damnato,[2] petiverunt. At Oxartes trepidum diffidentemque rebus suis Sysimithrem coepit hortari, ut fidem quam vim Macedonum mallet experiri, neu moraretur festinationem victoris exercitus in Indiam tendentis: cui quisquis semet offerret, in suum caput alienam cladem[3] esse versurum. Et ipse quidem Sysimithres deditionem annuebat: ceterum mater eademque conjunx morituram se ante denuntians, quam in ullius veniret potestatem, barbari animum ad honestiora quam tutiora converterat, pudebatque libertatis majus esse apud feminas, quam apud viros pretium. Itaque dimisso internuntio pacis, obsidionem ferre decreverat. Sed cum hostis vires suasque pensaret, rursus muliebris consilii, quod praeceps magis quam necessarium esse credebat, poenitere eum coepit: revocatoque strenue Oxarte, futurum se in regis potestate respondit, unum precatus, ne voluntatem et consilium matris suae proderet, quo facilius venia illi quoque impetraretur. Praemissum igitur Oxarten cum matre liberisque et totius cognationis grege sequebatur, ne expectato quidem fidei pignore, quod Oxartes promiserat. Rex, equite praemisso, qui reverti eos juberet, opperirique praesentiam ipsius, supervenit; et victimis Minervae ac Victoriae caesis, imperium Sysimithri restituit, spe majoris etiam provinciae facta, si cum fide amicitiam ipsius coluisset. Duos illi juvenes patre tradente, secum militaturos sequi jussit.

10. Relicta deinde phalange ad subigendos, qui defecerant, cum equite processit. Arduum et impeditum saxis iter primo utcunque tolerabant. Mox equorum non ungulis modo attritis, sed corporibus etiam fatigatis, sequi plerique non poterant, et rarius[4] subinde agmen fiebat, pudorem, ut

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[1] 'The darts thrown by the engines gleamed (before their eyes).'
[2] They threw aside every other means of defence, as unsafe.
[3] 'Foreign destruction;' that is, the destruction destined for others.
[4] 'Thinner,' opposed to *densum*.

fere fit, immodico labore vincente. Rex tamen, subinde[1] equos mutans, sine intermissione fugientes insequebatur. Nobiles juvenes comitari eum soliti defecerant praeter Philippum. Lysimachi erat frater, tum primum adultus, et, quod facile appareret,[2] indolis rarae. Is pedes, incredibile dictu, per D stadia vectum regem comitatus est, saepe equum suum offerente Lysimacho, nec tamen ut digrederetur a rege effici potuit, cum lorica indutus arma gestaret.[3] Idem, cum perventum esset in saltum, in quo se barbari abdiderant, nobilem edidit pugnam, regemque comminus cum hoste dimicantem protexit. Sed postquam barbari in fugam effusi deseruere silvas, animus, qui in ardore pugnae corpus sustentaverat, liquit;[4] subitoque ex omnibus membris profuso sudore, arboris proximae stipiti se applicuit. Deinde ne illo quidem adminiculo sustinente, manibus regis exceptus est, inter quas collapsus extinguitur. Maestum regem alius haud levis dolor excepit. Erigyius inter claros duces fuerat; quem exstinctum esse, paulo antequam reverteretur in castra[5] cognovit. Utriusque funus omni apparatu atque honore celebratum est.

11. Dahas deinde statuerat petere: ibi namque Spitamenem esse cognoverat. Sed hanc quoque expeditionem, ut pleraque alia, fortuna indulgendo ei[6] nunquam fatigata, pro absente transegit. Spitamenes uxoris immodico amore flagrabat; quam aegre fugam et nova subinde exilia tolerantem in omne discrimen comitem trahebat. Illa malis fatigata identidem[7] muliebres adhibere blanditias, ut tandem fugam sisteret, victorisque Alexandri clementiam expertus, placaret quem effugere non posset. Tres adulti erant liberi ex eo geniti:[8] quos cum pectori patris admovisset, ut saltem eorum misereri vellet, orabat; et quo efficaciores essent preces, haud procul erat Alexander. Ille se prodi, non moneri ratus, et formae profecto fiducia cupere eam quamprimum dedi Alexandro, acinacem strinxit, percussurus

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[1] 'From time to time.'

[2] 'Which might easily be evident;' namely, if you had been there. See *Gram.* § 343.

[3] 'Since, besides his armour, he carried his arms.'

[4] Equivalent to *defecit*.

[5] In the district of Nautaca.

[6] 'In indulging him.' Fortune took the matter into her own hand, and finished it in his absence.

[7] 'Repeatedly.'

[8] In English we speak of children being born 'to' the father, and 'of' the mother. In Latin likewise *ex* is usually applied to the mother; but there are a few instances in which, as here, it is used of the father. See Zumpt, § 451, note.

uxorem, nisi prohibitus esset fratrum ejus occursu. Ceterum abire conspectu jubet, addito metu mortis, si se oculis ejus[1] obtulisset; et ad desiderium levandum noctes agere inter pellices coepit. Sed penitus haerens amor fastidio praesentium[2] accensus est. Itaque rursus uni ei deditus, orare non destitit, ut tali consilio abstineret, patereturque sortem, quamcunque iis[3] fortuna fecisset: sibi mortem deditione esse leviorem. At illa purgare se, quod quae utilia esse censebat[4] muliebriter forsitan, sed fida tamen mente suasisset: de cetero futuram in viri potestate. Spitamenes, simulato captus obsequio, de die convivium[5] apparari jubet; vinoque et epulis gravis, semisomnus in cubiculum fertur. Quem ut alto et gravi somno sopitum esse sensit uxor, gladium, quem veste occultaverat, stringit, caputque ejus abscisum, cruore respersa, servo suo conscio facinoris tradit.

12. Eodem comitante, sicuti erat, cruenta veste, in Macedonum castra pervenit, nuntiarique Alexandro jubet, esse, quae ex ipsa deberet agnoscere.[6] Ille protinus barbarum jussit admitti. Quam ut respersam cruore conspexit, ratus ad deplorandam contumeliam venisse, dicere quae vellet jubet. At illa servum, quem in vestibulo stare jusserat, introduci desideravit. Qui quia caput Spitamenis veste tectum habebat, suspectus scrutantibus quid occuleret ostendit. Confuderat oris exsanguis notas pallor, nec quis esset nosci satis poterat. Ergo rex certior factus, humanum caput afferre eum, tabernaculo excessit, percontatusque quid rei sit, illo profitente cognoscit. Variae hinc cogitationes invicem animum diversa agitantem commoverant. Meritum ingens in semet esse credebat, quod transfuga et proditor, tantis rebus, si vixisset, injecturus moram,[7] interfectus esset: contra facinus ingens aversabatur, cum optime meritum de ipsa, communium parentem liberum, per insidias interemisset. Vicit

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[1] Judging from the usual practice of Curtius, we should expect *ipsius*. *Suis* might refer to the wife of Spitamenes, she being the subject of the subordinate clause, *ejus*, to some third person; but where the sense is so plain as it is here, such an ambiguity in the expression is not heeded.

[2] 'By contemptuous dislike to those who were now his companions;' namely, the *pellices*.

[3] Here we might expect *ipsis*.

[4] Properly *censeret*, according to *Gram.* § 361.

[5] That is, a *tempestivum convivium*, as in viii. 3.

[6] 'To learn,' implying to convince one's self of a thing by actual inspection.

[7] 'Who, had he lived, would have delayed such great undertakings' (as he, the king, had in view).

tamen gratiam meriti[1] sceleris atrocitas, denuntiarique jussit, ut excederet castris, neu licentiae barbarae exemplar in Graecorum mores et mitia ingenia transferret.

13. Dahae, Spitamenis caede comperta, Dataphernem, defectionis ejus participem, vinctum Alexandro seque dedunt. Ille, maxima praesentium curarum parte liberatus, convertit animum ad vindicandas injurias eorum, quibus a praetoribus suis avare ac superbe imperabatur. Ergo Phrataphernі Hyrcaniam et Mardos cum Tapyris tradidit, mandavitque, ut Phradaten, cui succedebat, ad se in custodiam mitteret.[2] Arsami, Drangarum praefecto, substitutus est Stasanor; Arsaces in Mediam missus, ut Oxydates inde discederet. Babylonia, demortuo Mazaeo, Stameni subjecta est.

14. His compositis tertio mense ex hibernis[3] movit exercitum, regionem, quae Gabaza appellatur, aditurus. Primus dies quietum iter praebuit: proximus ei nondum quidem procellosus et tristis, obscurior tamen pristino,[4] non sine minis crescentis mali praeteriit. Tertio ab omni parte coeli emicare fulgura, et nunc internitente luce, nunc condita, non oculos modo meantis[5] exercitus, sed etiam animos terrere coeperunt. Erat prope continuus coeli fragor, et passim cadentium fulminum species visebatur. Attonitisque auribus stupens agmen nec progredi, nec consistere audebat. Tum repente imber grandinem incutiens torrentis modo effunditur. Ac primo quidem armis suis tecti exceperant, sed jam nec retinere arma lubricae et rigentes manus poterant, nec ipsi destinare, in quam regionem obverterent corpora, cum undique tempestatis violentia major, quam vitabatur, occurreret. Ergo ordinibus solutis per totum saltum errabundum agmen ferebatur; multique prius metu, quam labore defatigati, prostraverant humi corpora, quamquam imbrem vis frigoris concreto gelu astrinxerat.[6] Alii se stipitibus arborum admove-

[1] 'The joy and gratitude inspired by the service rendered to himself.'

[2] Compare vi. 13.

[3] Which, according to what has gone before, had been in the district of Nautaca.

[4] Equivalent to *priore*.

[5] Equivalent to *progredientis*. *Meare* is a somewhat rare, and rather poetical word, used by Curtius, in several passages, of the breath (*spiritus*), then of rivers and ships, which move according to a regular rate of progression.

[6] Literally, 'the force of the cold had bound the rain with a firm frost;' that is, 'the cold was so intense, that the rain which had fallen was already frozen:' the expression *gelu concreto* is poetical; for the *gelu*, the frost, is not itself *concretum*, but it makes *aquam concretam*, or *glacies*, ice. In the same manner Ovid has *unda coit astricto gelu*, though *gelu astringit*, not *astringitur*.

rant: id plurimis et adminiculum et suffugium erat. Nec fallebat ipsos morti locum eligere, cum immobiles vitalis calor linqueret: sed grata erat pigritia corporum fatigatis, nec recusabant extingui quiescendo. Quippe non vehemens modo, sed etiam pertinax[1] vis mali insistebat; lucemque, naturale solatium, praeter tempestatem haud disparem nocti, silvarum quoque umbra suppresserat. Rex unus tanti mali patiens circumire milites, contrahere dispersos, allevare prostratos, ostendere procul evolutum ex tuguriis fumum, hortarique ut proxima quaeque suffugia occuparent. Nec ulla res magis saluti fuit, quam quod multiplicato labore sufficientem malis,[2] quibus ipsi cesserant, regem deserere erubescebant.

15. Ceterum efficacior in adversis necessitas, quam ratio, frigoris remedium invenit. Dolabris enim silvas sternere aggressi, passim acervos struesque accenderunt. Continenti incendio ardere crederes saltum, et vix inter flammas agminibus relictum locum. Hic calor stupentia membra[3] commovit, paulatimque spiritus, quem continuerat rigor, meare libere coepit. Excepere alios tecta barbarorum, quae in ultimo saltu abdita necessitas investigaverat; alios castra, quae in humido quidem, sed jam coeli mitescente saevitia, locaverunt. Duo milia militum atque lixarum calonumque[4] pestis illa consumpsit. Memoriae proditum est, quosdam applicatos arborum truncis, et non solum viventibus, sed etiam inter se colloquentibus similes, esse conspectos, durante adhuc habitu, in quo mors quemque deprehenderat. Forte Macedo gregarius miles seque et arma sustentans, tandem in castra pervenerat. Quo viso rex, quamquam ipse tummaxime admoto igne refovebat artus, ex sella sua exiluit, torpentemque militem et vix compotem mentis, demptis armis, in sua sede jussit considere. Ille diu nec ubi requiesceret, nec a quo esset exceptus agnovit. Tandem recepto calore vitali, ut regiam sedem regemque vidit, territus surgit. Quem intuens Alexander, Ecquid intelligis,[5] miles, inquit,

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1 'Lasting,' 'continuous.'

2 'Who, with (that is, notwithstanding) greatly more trouble, proved himself a match for the calamities, to which they had yielded.'

3 'The benumbed limbs.'

4 *Lixae* are free people, who follow an army in pursuit of their avocation; *calones*, the slaves of the soldiers.

5 Literally, 'Dost thou in any respect see?' But *ecquid* is also used merely as an interrogative particle, not only negatively ('Dost thou see?'), but also positively; that is, with the expectation of an affirmative answer ('Dost thou not see?'). See Zumpt, § 351.

quanto meliore sorte, quam Persae, sub rege vivatis? Illis enim in sella regis consedisse capital[1] foret, tibi saluti fuit. Postero die convocatis amicis copiarumque ducibus, pronuntiari jussit, ipsum omnia, quae amissa essent, redditurum. Et promisso fides extitit.[2] Nam Sysimithres multa jumenta et camelorum duo milia adduxit, pecoraque et armenta; quae distributa pariter militem et damno et fame liberaverunt. Rex, gratiam sibi relatam a Sysimithre praefatus, sex dierum cocta cibaria ferre milites jussit, Sagos[3] petens. Totam hanc regionem depopulatus, XXX milia pecorum ex praeda Sysimithri dono dat.

16. Inde pervenit in regionem, cui Oxyartes, satrapes nobilis, praeerat, qui se regis potestati fideique permisit. Ille imperio ei reddito, haud amplius, quam ut duo ex tribus filiis secum militarent, exegit. Satrapes etiam eum, qui penes ipsum relinquebatur, tradit. Barbara opulentia convivium, quo regem accipiebat, instruxerat. Id cum multa comitate celebraret, introduci XXX nobiles virgines jussit. Inter quas erat filia ipsius Roxane nomine, eximia corporis specie et decore habitus in barbaris raro.[4] Quae quamquam inter electas processerat, omnium tamen oculos convertit in se, maxime regis, minus jam cupiditatibus suis imperantis inter obsequia[5] fortunae, contra quam non satis cauta mortalitas[6] est. Itaque ille, qui uxorem Darei, qui duas filias virgines, quibus forma praeter Roxanen comparari nulla poterat, haud alio animo, quam parentis, aspexerat, tunc in amorem virgunculae,[7] si regiae stirpi compararetur, ignobilis, ita effusus est, ut diceret ad stabiliendum regnum pertinere, Persas et Macedones connubio jungi: hoc uno modo et pudorem victis, et superbiam victoribus detrahi posse. Achillem quoque, a quo genus ipse deduceret, cum captiva coisse: ne inferri nefas arbitrarentur, ita matrimonii jure velle jungi.[8] Insperato gaudio laetus pater sermonem ejus excipit: et rex in medio cupiditatis ardore jussit afferri patrio more panem. Hoc erat apud Macedones sanctissimum coëun-

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[1] 'A capital crime:' the neuter of *capitalis*, with the *e* struck off.

[2] 'And the promise was kept:' *fides*, here, 'faithful performance or fulfilment.'

[3] An unknown tribe in Sogdiana: not the same as the Sacae, with whom (vii. 38) peace had been concluded.

[4] 'Of a decency of dress rare among barbarians;' that is, 'dressed with a decency rarely seem among barbarians.'

[5] 'Favours.'

[6] 'Human nature,' sometimes equivalent to *mortales*.

[7] 'A young maiden,' like *muliercula* from *mulier*, expressive of a certain degree of contempt, so far as regarded her station in life.

[8] 'He intended to unite himself to her by a regular marriage.'

tium pignus, quem divisum gladio uterque libabat.[1] Credo eos, qui gentis mores condiderunt, parco et parabili victu ostendere voluisse jungentibus opes, quantulo[2] contenti esse deberent. Hoc modo rex Asiae et Europae introductam inter convivales ludos matrimonio sibi adjunxit, e captiva geniturus, qui victoribus imperaret. Pudebat amicos, super vinum et epulas socerum ex deditis esse delectum: sed post Cliti caedem libertate sublata, vultu, qui maxime servit, assentiebantur.[3]

17. Ceterum Indiam et inde Oceanum petiturus, ne quid a tergo, quod destinata[4] impedire posset, moveretur, ex omnibus provinciis XXX milia juniorum legi jussit et ad se armata perduci, obsides simul habiturus et milites. Craterum autem ad persequendos Haustanem et Catenem, qui ab ipso defecerant, misit: quorum Haustanes captus est, Catenes in proelio occisus. Polypercon quoque regionem, quae Bubacene appellatur,[5] in dicionem redegit. Itaque, omnibus compositis, cogitationes in bellum Indicum vertit. Dives regio habebatur non auro modo, sed gemmis quoque margaritisque, ad luxum magis quam ad magnificentiam exculta. Periti militares auro et ebore fulgere dicebant:[6] itaque, necubi vinceretur, cum ceteris praestaret, scutis argenteas laminas,[7] equis frenos aureos addidit, loricas quoque alias auro, alias argento adornavit. CXX milia armatorum erant, quae regem ad id bellum sequebantur. Jamque omnibus praeparatis, quod olim prava mente conceperat, tunc esse maturum ratus, quonam modo coelestes honores usurparet, coepit agitare. Jovis filium non dici tantum se, sed etiam credi volebat, tanquam perinde animis imperare posset ac linguis, itaque more Persarum Macedonas venerabundos[8] ipsum salutare prosternentes humi corpora. Non deerat talia concupiscenti perniciosa adulatio, perpetuum

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[1] 'Of which each ate.' Compare v. 8.

[2] 'With how little.'

[3] There was in truth no reasonable ground for blaming the young king; since, though he was no doubt inflamed by love, still he had the high object in view of uniting by this marriage Europe and Asia, conquerors and conquered, into one state.

[4] 'His designs,' 'the undertakings which he had resolved upon.'

[5] An unknown province.

[6] 'Those who were acquainted with the country said that the soldiers glittered with gold and ivory.' The use of *militares* for *milites* has no doubt a reference to the fact, that the soldiery formed in India a separate class.

[7] 'Plates.'

[8] 'Worshipping:' *venerari* (Greek προσκυνεῖν) does not consist in mere genuflection, but in throwing one's self upon the ground, with the face downwards.

malum regum, quorum opes saepius assentatio[1] quam hostis evertit. Nec Macedonum haec erat culpa, nemo enim illorum quicquam ex patrio more labare sustinuit,[2] sed Graecorum, qui professionem honestarum artium[3] malis corruperant moribus. Agis quidam Argivus, pessimorum carminum post Choerilum[4] conditor, et ex Sicilia Cleo, hic quidem non ingenii solum, sed etiam nationis vitio adulator, et cetera urbium suarum purgamenta,[5] quae propinquis etiam maximorumque exercituum ducibus a rege praeferebantur. Hi tum coelum illi aperiebant, Herculemque et Patrem Liberum et cum Polluce Castorem novo numini cessuros esse jactabant.

18. Igitur festo die omni opulentia convivium exornari jubet, cui non Macedones modo et Graeci, principes amicorum, sed etiam nobiles[6] adhiberentur. Cum quibus cum discubuisset rex, paulisper epulatus convivio egreditur. Cleo, sicut praeparatum erat, sermonem cum admiratione laudum ejus instituit. Merita deinde percensuit, quibus uno modo referri gratiam posse,[7] si, quem intelligerent deum esse, confiterentur, exigua turis impensa tanta beneficia pensaturi.[8] Persas quidem non pie solum, sed etiam prudenter reges suos inter deos colere: majestatem enim imperii salutis esse tutelam. Ne Herculem quidem et Patrem Liberum prius dicatos deos, quam vicissent secum viventium invidiam: tantundem quoque[9] posteros credere, quantum praesens aetas

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[1] *Assentatio* is an assent given to please some one in authority, and not from conviction; and is therefore very different from *assensio:* the verbs *assentari* and *assentire* have the same difference of signification.

[2] 'For none of them endured that any part of the customs of their native country should be altered or done away with:' *labare*, intransitive, 'to totter,' equivalent to the passive *infirmari*, 'to be made to totter.' *Sustinere*, commonly 'to dare,' here equivalent to *pati*.

[3] 'Teaching of the liberal arts:' *profiteri artem*, 'to profess or make known to the world, that one understands an art, and can instruct others in it.' *Honestae artes* are opposed to *artes sordidae, illiberales, mercenariae*, arts studied not for one's own mental gratification, but for the pursuit of a trade.

[4] This man, too, a native of Caria, accompanied Alexander. It used to be said of him, that it was a miracle when he contrived to manufacture a good line.

[5] See note vi. 41.

[6] We must supply either mentally or in the text, *Persae* or *barbari*.

[7] According to ordinary usage, we should have had the subjunctive here; but see *Gram.* § 386, and Zumpt, § 603, *c.*

[8] 'To balance by the slight expense of frankincense such great benefits.'

[9] *Quoque* belongs properly to *posteros*, and ought therefore to have been placed after it.

spopondisset. Quodsi ceteri dubitent, semetipsum, cum rex inisset convivium, prostraturum humi corpus. Debere idem facere ceteros, et imprimis sapientia praeditos: ab illis enim cultus in regem exemplum esse prodendum. Haud perplexe in Callisthenen dirigebatur oratio. Gravitas viri et prompta libertas[1] invisa erat regi, quasi solus Macedonas paratos ad tale obsequium moraretur.

19. Is tum silentio facto, unum illum intuentibus ceteris, Si rex, inquit, sermoni tuo affuisset, nullius profecto vox responsuri tibi desideraretur: ipse enim peteret, ne in peregrinos externosque ritus degenerare se cogeres, neu rebus felicissime gestis invidiam tali adulatione contraheres. Sed quoniam abest, ego tibi pro illo respondeo, nullum esse eundem et diuturnum et praecoquem[2] fructum, coelestesque honores non dare te regi, sed auferre. Intervallo enim opus est, ut credatur deus, semperque hanc gratiam magnis viris posteri reddunt. Ego autem seram immortalitatem precor regi, ut et vita diuturna sit, et aeterna majestas. Hominem consequitur aliquando, nunquam comitatur divinitas. Herculem modo et Patrem Liberum consecratae immortalitatis exempla referebas. Credisne illos unius convivii decreto deos factos? Prius ab oculis mortalium amolita natura est, quam in coelum fama perveheret.[3] Scilicet[4] ego et tu, Cleo, deos facimus! a nobis divinitatis suae auctoritatem accepturus est rex! potentiam tuam experiri libet: fac aliquem regem, si deum potes facere. Facilius est coelum dare, quam imperium.[5] Dii propitii sine invidia, quae Cleo dixit, audierint, eodemque cursu, quo fluxere adhuc res, ire patiantur. Nostris moribus velint nos esse contentos. Non pudet patriae, nec desidero, ad quem modum[6] rex mihi colendus sit, discere. Quos equidem victores esse confiteor, si ab illis leges, quis vivamus, accipimus.

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[1] 'Prompt out-spoken independence of spirit.' Callisthenes was a native of Olynthus, and a relation and disciple of Aristotle, through means of whom he became acquainted with Alexander. He accompanied the king on his expedition into Asia, in the capacity of historiographer; and his history, entitled Περσικὰ, was much esteemed by the ancients, though his descriptions, &c. were given in a somewhat rhetorical style.

[2] *Praecox*, genetive *praecoquis* or *praecocis*, 'prematurely ripe.'

[3] 'Nature took them away from the sight of mortals, before fame bore them into heaven.'

[4] 'No doubt,' ironically.

[5] 'It is an easier matter for you (that is, according to your system of procedure) to confer divinity than empire.'

[6] 'In what way:' the sense is, 'according to what men's way;' and to this 'men' the *Quos* in the next sentence refers.

20. Aequis auribus Callisthenes veluti vindex publicae libertatis audiebatur. Expresserat non assensionem[1] modo, sed etiam vocem, seniorum praecipue, quibus gravis erat inveterati moris externa mutatio. Nec quicquam eorum, quae invicem jactata erant, rex ignorabat, cum post aulaea, quae lectis obduxerat, staret. Igitur ad Agin et Cleonem misit, ut sermone finito barbaros tantum, cum intrasset, procumbere suo more paterentur: et paulo post, quasi potiora quaedam egisset, convivium repetit. Quem venerantibus Persis, Polypercon, qui cubabat super regem, unum ex his mento contingentem humum per ludibrium coepit hortari, ut vehementius id quateret ad terram, elicuitque iram Alexandri, quam olim animo capere non poterat. Itaque rex, Tu autem, inquit, non veneraberis me? An tibi uni digni videmur esse ludibrio? Ille, nec regem ludibrio, nec se contemptu dignum esse, respondit. Tum detractum eum lecto rex praecipitat in terram. Et cum is pronus corruisset, Videsne, inquit, idem te fecisse, quod in alio paulo ante ridebas? Et tradi eo in custodiam jusso, convivium solvit. Polyperconti quidem postea, castigato diu, ignovit: in Callisthenen olim contumaciae suspectum[2] pervicacioris irae fuit. Cujus explendae matura obvenit occasio.

21. Mos erat, ut supra dictum est, principibus Macedonum, adultos liberos regibus tradere, ad munia haud multum servilibus ministeriis[3] abhorrentia. Excubabant servatis noctium vicibus proximi foribus ejus aedis,[4] in qua rex acquiescebat. Per hos pellices introducebantur alio aditu, quam quem armati obsidebant. Iidem acceptos ab agasonibus[5] equos, cum rex ascensurus esset, admovebant, comitabanturque et venantem, et in proeliis, omnibus artibus studiorum liberalium exculti. Praecipuus honor habebatur, quod licebat sedentibus vesci cum rege. Castigandi eos verberibus nullius potestas[6] praeter ipsum erat. Haec cohors velut seminarium[7] ducum praefectorumque apud Macedonas fuit: hinc

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[1] 'Assent;' here the assent of the mind unexpressed, for it is placed in antithesis to *vocem*, the expression of it.

[2] 'Whom he had long suspected of being refractory.' There is no necessity for supposing the ellipsis of *crimine* or *nomine* in order to explain the genitive *contumaciae*. See *Gram.* § 282, note 1.

[3] For a notice of the question whether this is the dative or ablative, see note vi. 5.

[4] *Aedes*, in the singular, is originally equivalent to *conclave*, 'a single large apartment,' then 'a temple.'

[5] 'Grooms.'

[6] Equivalent to *nemini potestas erat: nullius* for *neminis*, which is never used. See Zumpt, §§ 88 and 676.

[7] 'The training-school.'

habuere posteri reges, quorum stirpibus post multas aetates Romani opes ademerunt. Igitur Hermolaus, puer nobilis ex regia cohorte, cum aprum telo occupasset, quem rex ferire destinaverat, jussu ejus verberibus affectus est. Quam ignominiam aegre ferens deflere apud Sostratum coepit. Ex eadem cohorte erat Sostratus, amore ejus ardens. Qui cum laceratum corpus, in quo deperibat,[1] intueretur, forsitan olim ob aliam quoque causam regi infestus, juvenum sua sponte jam motum, data fide acceptaque perpulit, ut occidendi regem consilium secum iniret. Nec puerili impetu rem executi sunt; quippe sollerter[2] legerunt, quos in societatem sceleris asciscerent. Nicostratum, Antipatrum Asclepiodorumque et Philotam placuit assumi: per hos adjecti sunt Anticles, Elaptonius et Epimenes. Ceterum agendae rei haud sane facilis patebat via. Opus erat eadem omnes conjuratos nocte excubare, ne ab expertibus consilii impedirentur; forte autem alius alia nocte excubabat. Itaque in permutandis stationum vicibus[3] ceteroque apparatu exequendae rei triginta et duo dies absumpti sunt.

22. Aderat nox, qua conjurati excubare debebant, mutua fide laeti, cujus documentum tot dies fuerant. Neminem metus spesve mutaverat: tanta omnibus vel in regem ira, vel[4] fides inter ipsos fuit. Stabant igitur ad fores aedis ejus, in qua rex vescebatur, ut convivio egressum in cubiculum deducerent. Sed fortuna ipsius simulque epulantium comitas[5] provexit omnes ad largius vinum; ludi etiam convivales extraxere tempus, nunc laetantibus conjuratis, quod sopitum aggressuri essent, nunc sollicitis, ne in lucem convivium extraheret. Quippe alios in stationem oportebat prima luce succedere, ipsorum post septimum diem reditura vice: nec sperare poterant, in illud tempus omnibus duraturam fidem. Ceterum cum jam lux appeteret, et convivium solvitur, et conjurati exceperunt regem, laeti occasionem exequendi sceleris admotam;[6] cum mulier attonitae, ut creditum est, mentis,[7] conversari in regia solita, quia instinctu[8] videbatur futura praedicere, non occurrit modo abeunti, sed etiam

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[1] 'With whom he was in love.' *Deperire* is ordinarily construed, like *amare*, with the accusative; but here, in the same way as *ardere* and *uri* in this sense, with *in* and the ablative.

[2] 'Skilfully,' 'with due consideration.'

[3] 'In making changes of their turns on guard.'

[4] As to the distinction between *aut* and *vel*, see Zumpt, § 339.

[5] Cheerfulness is mentioned also in another passage (viii. 16) as a desirable quality in banqueters.

[6] 'Had approached.'

[7] 'Of a possessed' or 'prophectic mind.'

[8] 'From inspiration.'

semet objecit, vultuque et oculis motum praeferens[1] animi, ut rediret in convivium monuit: et ille per ludum, bene deos suadere, respondit, revocatisque amicis in horam diei ferme secundam convivii tempus extraxit. Jam alii ex cohorte in stationem successerant, ante cubiculi fores excubituri, adhuc tamen conjurati stabant, vice officii sui expleta; adeo pertinax spes est, quam humanae mentes devoraverunt. Rex benignius quam alias allocutus, discedere eos ad curanda corpora, quoniam tota nocte perstitissent, jubet. Data singulis quinquaginta sestertia,[2] collaudatis, quod etiam aliis tradita vice, tamen excubare perseverassent.

23. Illi tanta spe destituti domos[3] abeunt. Et ceteri quidem expectabant stationis suae noctem: Epimenes, sive comitate regis, qua ipsum inter conjuratos exceperat, repente mutatus, sive quia coeptis deos obstare credebat, fratri suo Eurylocho, quem antea expertem esse consilii voluerat, quid pararetur, aperit. Omnibus Philotae supplicium in oculis erat. Itaque protinus injicit fratri manum, et in regiam pervenit, excitatisque custodibus corporis,[4] ad salutem regis pertinere, quae afferret, affirmat. Et tempus, quo venerant, et vultus haud sane securi animi index, et maestitia e duobus alterius, Ptolemaeum ac Leonnatum excubantes ad cubiculi limen excitaverunt. Itaque apertis foribus, et lumine illato, sopitum mero ac somno excitant regem. Ille paulatim mente collecta, quid afferrent, interrogat. Nec cunctatus Eurylochus, non ex toto domum suam aversari deos dixit, quia frater ipsius, quamquam impium facinus ausus foret, tamen et poenitentiam ejus ageret, et per se potissimum profiteretur indicium. In eam ipsam noctem, quae decederet, insidias comparatas fuisse; auctores scelesti consilii esse, quos minime crederet rex. Tum Epimenes cuncta ordine consciorumque nomina exponit. Callisthenen non ut participem facinoris nominatum esse constabat, sed solitum puerorum sermonibus vituperantium criminantiumque regem faciles aures praebere. Quidam adjiciunt, cum Hermolaus apud eum quoque verberatum se a rege quereretur, dixisse Callisthenen, meminisse debere eos jam vires esse.[5] idque ad

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[1] Equivalent to *prae se ferens*, 'exhibiting.'

[2] Our author gives us the sum in Roman money. A *sestertium* equalled ten Roman gold pieces, which were of nearly the same value as the Greek darics. Alexander, therefore, probably gave to each page five hundred darics—a very respectable sum.

[3] 'Home;' that is, every one to his own home; therefore the plural.

[4] The σωματοφύλακες whom we have so often mentioned.

[5] *Se*, subject to *esse*, ought to have been expressed, but is easily understood.

consolandam[1] patientiam verberum, an ad incitandum juvenum dolorem dictum esset, in ambiguo fuisse. Rex, animi corporisque sopore discusso, cum tanti periculi, quo evaserat,[2] imago oculis oberraret, Eurylochum L talentis et cujusdam Tyridatis opulentis bonis protinus donat, fratremque, antequam pro salute ejus precaretur, restituit. Sceleris autem auctores, interque eos Callisthenen, vinctos asservari jubet: quibus in regiam adductis, toto die et nocte proxima, mero ac vigiliis gravis, acquievit.

24. Postero autem frequens consilium adhibuit, cui patres propinquique eorum, de quibus agebatur, intererant, ne de sua quidem salute securi: quippe Macedonum more perire debebant, omnium devotis capitibus, qui sanguine contigissent eos,[3] Rex introduci conjuratos praeter Callisthenen jussit: atque quae agitaverant, sine cunctatione confessi sunt. Increpantibus deinde universis eos, ipse rex, quo suo merito[4] tantum in semet cogitassent facinus? interrogat. Stupentibus ceteris, Hermolaus, Nos vero,[5] inquit, quoniam, quasi nescias, quaeris, occidendi te consilium inivimus, quia non ut ingenuis imperare coepisti, sed quasi in mancipia dominaris. Primus ex omnibus pater ipsius Sopolis, parricidiam etiam parentis sui clamitans esse, consurgit, et ad os manu objecta, scelere et malis insanientem ultra negat audiendum. Rex inhibito patre dicere Hermolaum jubet, quae ex magistro didicisset Callisthene. Et Hermolaus, Utor, inquit, beneficio tuo, et dico, quae nostris malis didici.[6] Quota pars Macedonum saevitiae tuae superest? quotus quidem[7] non e vilissimo sanguine? Attalus et Philotas et Parmenio et Lyncestes Alexander et Clitus, quantum ad hostes pertinet, vivunt, stant in acie, te clipeis suis protegunt, et pro gloria tua, pro victoria vulnera accipiunt: quibus tu egregiam gratiam rettulisti. Alius mensam tuam sanguine suo as-

[1] In this construction we must give to *consolari* the sense of 'to produce, by his consoling words, a patient endurance of,' &c.; but the expression is a contracted one for *ad consolandos eos ut verbera aequo animo paterentur.*

[2] As to the ablative, see Zumpt, § 468. With Tacitus and the writers of that age, *evado* governs the accusative. See Zumpt, § 386, *ad fin.*

[3] 'The heads of all who were related by blood to the criminals being doomed to fall. The subjunctive depends on the clause *ita institutum erat ut*, which is implied in *Macedonum more.*

[4] 'On account of what fault of his.'

[5] *Vero*, introducing the reply. See Zumpt, § 716.

[6] 'What I have learned from our misfortunes' (not from Callisthenes).

[7] *Quidem* serves here as a particle of restriction: 'how few, I mean how few of noble descent.'

persit, alius ne simplici quidem morte defunctus est. Duces exercituum tuorum in equuleum[1] impositi, Persis, quos vicerant, fuere spectaculo. Parmenio indicta causa trucidatus est, per quem Attalum occideras. Invicem enim miserorum uteris manibus ad expetenda supplicia, et quos paulo ante ministros caedis habuisti, subito ab aliis jubes trucidari. Obstrepunt subinde cuncti Hermolao, pater supremum[2] strinxerat ferrum, percussurus haud dubie, ni inhibitus esset a rege: quippe Hermolaum dicere jussit, petiitque, ut causas supplicii augentem patienter audirent.

25. Aegre ergo coërcitis, rursus Hermolaus: Quam liberaliter, inquit, pueris rudibus ad dicendum agere permittis! at Callisthenis vox carcere inclusa est, quia solus potest dicere. Cur enim non producitur, cum etiam confessi audiuntur?[3] nempe quia liberam vocem innocentis audire metuis, ac ne vultum quidem pateris. Atqui nihil eum fecisse contendo. Sunt hic, qui mecum rem pulcherrimam cogitaverunt: nemo est, qui conscium fuisse nobis Callisthenen dicat, cum morti olim destinatus sit[4] a justissimo et patientissimo rege. Haec ergo sunt Macedonum praemia, quorum ut supervacuo et sordido abuteris sanguine! At tibi XXX milia mulorum captivum aurum vehunt, cum milites nihil domum praeter gratuitas cicatrices[5] relaturi sint. Quae tamen omnia tolerare potuimus, antequam nos barbaris dederes, et novo more victores sub jugum mitteres. Persarum te vestis et disciplina delectat, patrios mores exosus es.[6] Persarum erga, non Macedonum, regem occidere voluimus, et te transfugam belli jure persequimur. Tu Macedonas voluisti genua tibi ponere, venerarique te ut deum: tu Philippum patrem aversaris, et si quis deorum ante Jovem haberetur, fastidires etiam Jovem. Miraris, si liberi homines superbiam tuam ferre non possumus? Quid speramus ex te, quibus aut insontibus moriendum est, aut, quod tristius morte est, in servitute vivendum? Tu quidem, si emendari potes, multum mihi debes. Ex me enim scire coepisti, quid ingenui homines fere non possint. De cetero parce, quorum orbam senectutem suppliciis ne oneraveris:[7]

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[1] That is, the rack to which those who were to be tortured were bound.

[2] 'At last,' an adverb. See *Gram.* § 109, note 1.

[3] 'Now, when even those who have confessed receive a hearing.' *Cum* expresses here purely time.

[4] 'Though he has for a long time been doomed to death.'

[5] 'Unrewarded scars.'

[6] A strengthened expression for *odisti*, 'thou hatest:' *exosus* and *perosus* exist only as participles.

[7] 'As to the rest, spare those whose childless old age thou canst

nos jube duci, ut, quod ex tua morte petieramus, consequamur ex nostra.[1] Haec Hermolaus.

26. At rex: Quam falsa sint, inquit, quae iste tradita a magistro suo dixit, patientia mea ostendit. Confessum enim ultimum facinus, tamen non solum audivi, sed ut ipsi audiretis, expressi, non imprudens, cum permisissem latroni huic dicere, usurum eum rabie, qua compulsus est, ut me, quem parentis loco colere deberet, vellet occidere. Nuper cum procacius se in venatione gessisset, more patrio, et ab antiquissimis Macedoniae regum[2] usurpato, castigari eum jussi. Hoc et oportet fieri, et ut[3] a tutoribus pupilli, a maritis uxores, servis quoque pueros hujus aetatis verberare concedimus. Haec est saevitia in ipsum mea, quam impia caede voluit ulcisci. Nam in ceteros, qui mihi permittunt uti ingenio meo, quam mitis sim, non ignoratis, et commemorare supervacuum est. Hermolao parricidarum supplicia non probari, cum eadem ipse meruerit, minime hercule admiror. Nam cum Parmenionem et Philotam laudat, suae servit causae. Lyncesten vero Alexandrum bis insidiatum capiti meo a duobus indicibus liberavi, rursus convictum per biennium tamen distuli; donec vos postularetis, ut tandem debito supplicio scelus lueret. Attalum antequam rex essem, hostem[4] meo capiti fuisse meministis. Clitus utinam non[5] coëgisset me sibi irasci. Cujus temerariam linguam probra dicentis mihi et vobis diutius tuli, quam ille eadem me dicentem tulisset. Regum ducumque clementia non in ipsorum modo, sed etiam in illorum, qui parent, ingeniis sita est. Obsequio mitigantur imperia: ubi vero reverentia excessit animis, et summa imis confundimus,[6] vi opus est, ut vim repellamus.

27. Sed quid ego mirer, istum crudelitatem mihi objecisse, qui avaritiam exprobrare ausus sit? Nolo singulos vestrum

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not by punishments burden more heavily.' This would have been the meaning with *non;* but since we have *ne*, we must understand that the speaker changes from the statement of a fact into a prayer: 'Spare, and do not burden more heavily their childless old age.'

[1] Beautifully and forcibly expressed; 'that we may obtain by our own death what we had sought by thine;' namely, deliverance from indignities and misery.

[2] *Regibus* would have been more according to usual practice. See *Gram.* § 275, *c.*

[3] Unless for *ut* we read *ferunt*, *verberantur* must be taken out of the infinitive *verberare.*

[4] 'Open enemy.'

[5] More commonly *ne*. See *Gram.* § 350, note 1.

[6] That is, 'when we make no difference between king and subject.'

excitare,[1] ne invisam liberalitatem meam faciam, si pudori vestro gravem fecero. Totum exercitum aspicite: qui paulo ante nihil praeter arma habebat, nunc argenteis cubat lectis;[2] mensas auro onerant, servorum greges ducunt, spolia de hostibus sustinere non possunt. At enim Persae, quos vicimus, in magno honore sunt apud me! Equidem[3] moderationis meae certissimum indicium est, quod ne victis quidem superbe impero. Veni enim in Asiam, non ut funditus everterem gentes, nec ut dimidia parte terrarum[4] solitudinem facerem, sed ut illos, quos bello subegissem, victoriae meae non poeniteret.[5] Itaque militant vobiscum, pro imperio vestro sanguinem fundunt, qui superbe habiti rebellassent. Non est diuturna possessio, in quam gladio inducimur: beneficiorum gratia sempiterna est. Si habere Asiam, non transire volumus, cum his communicanda est nostra clementia; horum fides stabile et aeternum faciet imperium. Et sane plus habemus, quam capimus. Insatiabilis autem avaritiae est, adhuc impleri velle,[6] quod jam circumfluit. Verumtamen[7] eorum mores in Macedonas transfundo! In multis enim gentibus esse video, quae non erubescamus imitari; nec aliter tantum imperium apte regi potest, quam ut quaedam et tradamus illis, et ab iisdem discamus.

28. Illud paene risu dignum fuit, quod Hermolaus postulabat a me, ut aversarer Jovem, cujus oraculo agnoscor. An etiam quid dii respondeant, in mea potestate est? Obtulit mihi filii nomen, recipere ipsis rebus, quas agimus, haud alienum fuit.[8] Utinam Indi quoque deum esse me credant! Fama enim bella constant,[9] et saepe etiam quod falso creditum est veri vicem obtinuit. An me luxuriae indulgentem putatis arma vestra auro argentoque adornasse? Assuetis nihil vilius hac videri materia volui ostendere, Macedonas

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[1] *Testem excitare* is a common expression, 'to call or summon a witness.'

[2] Beds were frequently adorned with silver or ivory bordering.

[3] See note v. 35.

[4] 'Throughout half the world.'

[5] 'That they might not be ashamed of my victory;' that is, might be contented with it. *Poenitet* has often this signification, *e.g.*, *non poenitet me quantum didicerim*, 'I am content with what I have learned.'

[6] Supply *id*, 'that that should continue to be filled which already overflows.'

[7] Equivalent to *at*, and introducing the quotation of an objection made by the accuser.

[8] 'The accepting of it has not been unsuitable for (or 'unproductive of advantage in') our undertakings themselves.' See *Gram.* § 302.

[9] 'Wars are supported by fame;' that is, 'the fame of invincibility is the surest basis of war.' See Zumpt, § 452.

invictos ceteris ne auro quidem vinci. Oculos ergo primum eorum sordida omnia et humilia spectantium capiam,[1] et docebo, nos non auri aut argenti cupidos, sed orbem terrarum subacturos venire. Quam gloriam tu, parricida, intercipere voluisti, et Macedonas, rege adempto, devictis gentibus dedere. At nunc mones me, ut vestris parentibus parcam! Non oportebat quidem vos scire, quid de his statuissem, quo tristiores periretis, si qua vobis parentum memoria et cura est: sed olim istum morem occidendi cum scelestis insontes propinquos parentesque solvi, et profiteor, in eodem honore futuros omnes eos, in quo fuerunt. Nam tuum Callisthenen, cui uni vir videris, quia latro es, scio, cur produci velis: ut coram his probra, quae in me modo jecisti, modo audisti,[2] illius quoque ore referantur. Quem, si Macedo esset, tecum introduxissem, dignissimum te discipulo magistrum: nunc Olynthio non idem juris est.[3]

29. Post haec consilium dimisit, tradique damnatos hominibus, qui ex eadem cohorte erant, jussit. Illi, ut fidem suam saevitia regi approbarent, excruciatos necaverunt. Callisthenes quoque tortus interiit,[4] initi consilii in caput regis innoxius, sed haudquaquam aulae et assentantium accommodatus ingenio. Itaque nullius caedes majorem apud Graecos Alexandro excitavit invidiam, quod praeditum optimis moribus artibusque, a quo revocatus ad vitam erat, cum interfecto Clito mori perseveraret, non tantum occiderit, sed etiam torserit indicta quidem causa. Quam crudelitatem sera poenitentia consecuta est.

30. Sed ne otium serendis rumoribus natum aleret, in Indiam movit, semper bello quam post victoriam clarior. India tota ferme spectet Orientem, minus in latitudinem, quam recta regione spatiosa. Quae Austrum accipiunt,[5] in

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[1] 'I will first take (that is, enchain) their eyes, while they look at all this (gold and silver) in common use amongst us, and put to the humblest purposes.'

[2] 'In order that the reproaches which you (in your treasonable meetings) partly yourself threw out against me, and partly heard from others, might here too be again brought up by his mouth, as well as your own.'

[3] Callisthenes, therefore, not being a native Macedonian, did not enjoy the right of being judged by his peers; but his fate was left to the king's decision.

[4] According to other historians, Callisthenes, seven months after the events now related, died a natural death—in prison, however.

[5] 'Those parts which receive (are turned towards) the south wind; that is, in general, the southern parts, the mountainous peninsula of the Deccan. The mountain range on the north of India, the Himalaya, was called by the ancients Caucasus, as being a contin-

altius terrae fastigium excedunt; plana sunt cetera, multisque inclitis amnibus Caucaso monte ortis placidum per campos iter praebent. Indus gelidior est, quam ceteri: aquas vehit a colore maris haud multum abhorrentes. Ganges omnium ab Oriente[1] fluvius eximius ad meridianam regionem decurrit, et magnorum montium juga recto alveo stringit; inde eum objectae rupes inclinant ad Orientem. Uterque Rubro mari accipitur, findens ripas, multasque arbores cum magna soli parte exsorbet, saxis quoque impeditus, quis crebro reverberatur; ubi mollius solum reperit, stagnat, insulasque molitur. Acesines Indum auget:[2] decursurum in mare intercipit, magnoque motu amnis uterque colliditur: quippe asperum os influenti objicit, nec repercussae aquae cedunt. Dyardenes[3] minus celeber auditu est, quia per ultima Indiae currit: ceterum non crocodilos modo, uti Nilus, sed etiam delphinos ignotasque aliis gentibus beluas alit. Ethimantus,[4] crebris flexibus subinde curvatus, ab accolis rigantibus carpitur: ea causa est, cur tenues reliquias jam sine nomine in mare emittat. Multis praeter hos amnibus tota regio dividitur, sed ignobilibus, quia non adeo interfluunt.[5] Ceterum quae propiora sunt mari aquiloni maxime decurrunt:[6] is cohibitus jugis montium ad interiora

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uation of the chain on this side the Indus. Between the Himalayas and the Deccan lies India proper, an immense level.

[1] Properly, 'on the eastern side (of the earth);' that is, 'in the east.' See Zumpt, § 304, *b*.

[2] 'The Acesines swells (that is, 'falls into') the Indus, which intercepts it in its course towards the sea.' This account is quite correct. The Acesines, now the Chenab, is only one of the rivers of the Punjaub (Land of the Five Rivers); but under this name it carries to the Indus the united waters of these tributaries. First there falls into the Acesines on the west bank the Hydaspes (Jeloom), then on the east the Hydraotes (Ravee), and the Hyphasis (Sutlej), which receives the Beas. These rivers, all united, flow into the Indus under the single name of the Acesines.

[3] Unknown; that is, we know not whether one of the numberless tributaries of the Ganges is meant, or, farther east, the Burrempooter.

[4] Also unknown; for the river Etymander, in the country of the Euergetae (see vii. 11), cannot be meant.

[5] 'Because they do not flow very far,' or 'have not very long courses:' *non adeo*, 'not very,' see Zumpt, § 281: *interfluunt*, 'flow between;' that is, between their sources and the point of their junction with one of the main rivers.

[6] 'The parts situated towards the sea sink down principally to receive the Aquilo;' that is, 'are very much exposed to the Aquilo.' By Aquilo the author understands the south-west monsoon, which prevails periodically in these latitudes, and brings rain and tempests along with it. This wind he calls Aquilo, because the periodical

non penetrat, ita alendis frugibus mitis. Sed adeo in illa plaga mundus statas temporum vices mutat, ut, cum alia fervore solis exaestuant, Indiam nives obruant, rursusque, ubi cetera rigent, illic intolerandus aestus existat. Nec aperuit se naturae causa. Mare certe, quo alluitur, ne colore quidem abhorret a ceteris. Ab Erythro rege inditum est nomen: propter quod ignari rubere aquas credunt.

31. Terra lini ferax: inde plerisque sunt vestes. Libri arborum teneri haud secus quam chartae,[1] litterarum notas capiunt. Aves ad imitandum humanae vocis sonum dociles sunt. Animalia inusitata ceteris gentibus, nisi invecta. Eadem terra rhinocerotas alit, non generat.[2] Elephantorum major est vis, quam quos in Africa domitant; et viribus magnitudo respondet. Aurum flumina vehunt, quae leni modicoque lapsu segnes aquas ducunt. Gemmas margaritasque mare litoribus infundit. Neque alia illis major opulentiae causa est, utique postquam vitiorum commercium vulgavere in exteras gentes:[3] quippe aestimantur purgamenta exaestuantis freti pretio, quod libido constituit. Ingenia hominum, sicut ubique, apud illos locorum quoque situs format.[4] Corpora usque pedes[5] carbaso[6] velant, soleis pedes, capita linteis vinciunt; lapilli ex auribus pendent; brachia quoque et lacertos[7] auro colunt, quibus inter populares aut nobilitas aut opes eminent. Capillum pectunt saepius, quam tondent; mentum semper intonsum est; reliquam oris cutem ad speciem levitatis exaequant.

32. Regum tamen luxuria, quam ipsi magnificentiam appellant, super omnium gentium vitia. Cum rex se in publico conspici patitur, turibula argentea ministri ferunt, totumque iter, per quod ferri destinavit, odoribus complent. Aurea

winds (ἐτησίαι) in the Grecian seas with which he was acquainted blow from the north.

[1] Paper made of the reed *papyrus*, the ordinary substance used for writing upon at Rome.

[2] The meaning is, that these animals come singly from the neighbouring countries; *e.g.* from Further India into Hither India, which alone our auther understands by *India*.

[3] Quite correct. 'The Indians make great gain by the trade in pearls, especially since the time when they began to extend the traffic in vices ('luxuries,' for the desire of luxury is a vice, at least a great weakness) to foreign nations.'

[4] 'The situation (climate) of the country, too, has a great influence in forming the dispositions of the inhabitants;' that is, their original nature is modified by the influence of the climate.

[5] A writer of the Augustan age would have said *usque ad pedes*.

[6] 'Cotton cloth;' plural, *carbasi* and *carbasa*.

[7] *Brachium* is the part of the arm from the hand to the elbow; *lacertus*, the fleshy part from the elbow to the shoulder.

lectica, margaritis circumpendentibus, recubat: distincta sunt auro et purpura carbasa, quae indutus est: lecticam sequuntur armati corporisque custodes, inter quos ramis aves pendent, quas cantu seriis rebus obstrepere[1] docuerunt. Regia auratas columnas habet: totas eas vitis auro caelata percurrit,[2] aviumque, quarum visu maxime gaudent, argenteae effigies opera distinguunt.[3] Regia adeuntibus patet, cum capillum pectit atque ornat: tunc responsa legationibus, tunc jura popularibus reddit. Demptis soleis, odoribus illinuntur pedes. Venatus maximus labor est inclusa vivario animalia inter vota cantusque pellicum figere. Binum[4] cubitorum sagittae sunt, quas emittunt majore nisu quam effectu. Quippe telum, cujus in levitate vis omnis est, inhabili pondere oneratur. Breviora itinera equo conficit; longior ubi expeditio est, elephanti vehunt currum, et tantarum beluarum corpora tota contegunt auro. Ac ne quid perditis moribus desit, lecticis aureis pellicum longus ordo sequitur: separatum a reginae ordine agmen est, aequatque luxuriam. Feminae epulas parant. Ab iisdem vinum ministratur, cujus omnibus Indis largus est usus. Regem mero somnoque sopitum in cubiculum pellices referunt, patrio carmine noctium invocantes deos.

33. Quis credat inter haec vitia curam esse sapientiae? Unum agreste et horridum genus est, quod[5] sapientes vocant. Apud hos occupare fati diem pulchrum, et vivos se cremari jubent, quibus aut segnis aetas aut incommoda valetudo est: expectatam mortem pro dedecore vitae habent. Nec ullus corporibus, quae senectus solvit, honos redditur: inquinari putant ignem, nisi qui spirantes recipit. Illi, qui in urbibus publicis moribus degunt,[6] siderum motus scite spectare dicuntur et futura praedicere. Nec quemquam admovere leti diem credunt, cui expectare interrito liceat. Deos putant quicquid colere coeperunt,[7] arbores maxime, quas violare capital[8] est.

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[1] 'To interrupt serious matters;' by this he insinuates his contempt of such silliness.

[2] 'Along their whole length runs a vine carved (with the *caelum*) in gold.'

[3] 'Figures of birds in silver improve these works' by the variety which they introduce.

[4] The genitive of distributive numerals is in the masculine and neuter more commonly *um* than *orum*. See *Gram.* § 106, note 1.

[5] More commonly *quos*. See *Gram.* § 232, 3.

[6] 'The other class of the so-called wise men, who live in the cities, and conduct themselves in the same way as other men.' These are distinguished from the *horridum genus* mentioned before, who resided in the country.

[7] 'Everything which has once excited their adoration.'

[8] See note, viii. 15.

Menses in quinos denos descripserunt dies, anni plena spatia servantur. Lunae cursu notant tempora, non, ut plerique, cum orbem sidus implevit, sed cum se curvare coepit in cornua, et idcirco breviores habent menses, qui spatium eorum ad hunc lunae modum dirigunt.[1] Multa et alia traduntur, quibus morari ordinem rerum haud sane operae[2] videbatur.

34. Igitur Alexandro fines Indiae ingresso gentium suarum reguli occurrerunt, imperata facturi, illum tertium Jove genitum ad ipsos pervenisse memorantes: Patrem Liberum atque Herculem fama cognitos esse,[3] ipsum coram adesse cernique. Rex benigne exceptos sequi jussit, iisdem itinerum ducibus usurus. Ceterum cum amplius nemo occurreret, Hephaestionem et Perdiccam cum copiarum parte praemisit ad subigendos, qui aversarentur imperium: jussitque ad flumen Indum procedere, et navigia facere, quis in ulteriora transportari posset exercitus. Illi, quia plura flumina superanda erat, sic junxere naves, ut solutae plaustris vehi possent, rursusque conjungi. Post se Cratero cum phalange jusso sequi, equitatum ac levem armaturam eduxit, eosque, qui occurrerant, levi proelio in urbem proximam compulit. Jam supervenerat Craterus. Itaque ut principio terrorem incuteret genti nondum arma Macedonum expertae, praecipit, ne cui parceretur, munimentis urbis, quam obsidebat, incensis. Ceterum dum obequitat[4] moenibus, sagitta ictus est. Cepit tamen oppidum, et omnibus incolis ejus trucidatis, etiam in tecta saevitum est.

35. Inde domita ignobili gente, ad Nysam urbem pervenit. Forte castris ante ipsa moenia in silvestri loco positis, nocturnum frigus vehementius quam alias horrore corpora affecit, opportunumque remedium ignis[5] oblatum est. Caesis quippe silvis flammam excitaverunt, quae, igni alita,[6] oppidanorum

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[1] Their lunar months are consequently the half of ours. We reckon from one full moon to the next, they from the first quarter to the last, then from the last to the first again, and so on.

[2] *Est operae* according to *Gram.* § 279; 'it is worth while,' otherwise expressed by *est operae pretium*, 'it repays the trouble.'

[3] These are perhaps only expressions put into their mouths by the Greeks; still, in the Indian mythology, in the descriptions of the incarnations of Vishnu, we read of the sons of gods who wandered over the world, and performed great exploits.

[4] As to *dum*, commonly construed with the present, see *Gram.* § 332, note.

[5] 'The remedy of fire;' that is, fire, the means of counteracting the cold. *Ignis* is what we may call the definitive or explanatory genitive, as to which see *Gram.* § 274.

[6] 'The flame, supported by the fire;' because, so long as the fire is kept burning, the flame grows and spreads.

sepulcra comprehendit. Vetusta cedro erant facta, conceptumque ignem late fudere, donec omnia solo aequata sunt. Et ex urbe primum canum latratus, deinde etiam hominum fremitus auditus est. Tum et oppidani hostem, et Macedones ad urbem ipsos venisse cognoscunt. Jamque rex eduxerat copias, et moenia obsidebat, cum hostium qui discrimen temptaverant obruti telis sunt. Aliis ergo deditionem, aliis pugnam experiri placebat: quorum dubitatione comperta, circumsideri tantum eos, et abstineri caedibus jussit. Tandemque obsidionis malis fatigati dedidere se. A Libero Patre conditos se esse dicebant; et vera haec origo erat. Sita est sub radicibus montis, quem Meron incolae appellant. Inde Graeci mentiendi traxere licentiam, Jovis femine[1] Liberum Patrem esse celatum.

36. Rex, situ montis cognito ex incolis, cum toto exercitu, praemissis commeatibus, verticem ejus ascendit. Multa hedera vitisque toto gignitur monte; multae perennes aquae manant. Pomorum quoque varii salubresque suci sunt, sua sponte fortuitorum seminum fruges humo nutriente. Lauri baccarisque[2] multa in illis rupibus agrestis est silva. Credo equidem, non divino instinctu, sed lascivia esse provectos, ut passim hederae ac vitium folia decerperent, redimitique fronde toto nemore similes bacchantibus vagarentur. Vocibus ergo tot milium, praesidem nemoris ejus deum adorantium, juga montis collesque resonabant, cum orta licentia a paucis, ut fere fit, in omnes se repente vulgasset. Quippe velut in media pace, per herbas aggestamque frondem prostravere corpora. Et rex fortuitam laetitiam non aversatus, large ad epulas omnibus praebitis, per decem dies Libero Patri operatum habuit exercitum.[3] Quis neget, eximiam quoque gloriam saepius fortunae, quam virtutis, esse beneficium? quippe ne epulantes quidem et sopitos mero aggredi ausus est hostis,

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[1] In Greek, the thigh (*femur*) is called μηρός. Here, then, in the mountainous district on the north of the Cabul River, which flows through a fruitful and pleasant country, and falls into the Indus near Attok, here, we say, the Macedonians thought they had discovered the birthplace of Dionysus, and the explanation of the fable that he had come out of the thigh of Zeus. The mountain to which allusion is made must be a spur of the chain Hindukush (the Indian Caucasus on this side the Indus). We moderns, in Europe at least, are very ill acquainted with the geography of that part of India.

[2] *Baccar* is a shrub with fragrant roots. We are here told that an absolute forest of this shrub and of the laurel had sprung up.

[3] 'Kept them engaged in the worship of Father Liber (Bacchus, Dionysus).' *Operari* is the proper term for religious services, sacrifices, prayers, and sacred games.

haud secus bacchantium ululantiumque[1] fremitu perterritus, quam si proeliantium clamor esset auditus. Eadem felicitas ab Oceano revertentes temulentos comissantesque inter ora hostium texit.

37. Hinc ad regionem, quae Daedala vocatur, perventum est. Deseruerant incolae sedes, et in avios silvestresque montes confugerant. Ergo Acadira transit, aeque vasta et destituta incolentium fuga. Itaque rationem belli necessitas mutavit. Divisis enim copiis, pluribus simul locis arma ostendit, oppressique ubi non expectaverant hostem, omni clade perdomiti sunt. Ptolemaeus plurimas urbes, Alexander maximas cepit: rursusque, quas distribuerat, copias junxit. Superato deinde Choaspe amne,[2] Coenon in obsidione urbis opulentae (Beiram incolae vocant) reliquit: ipse ad Mazagas venit. Nuper Assacano, cujus regnum fuerat, demortuo, regionio urbique praeerat mater ejus Cleophis. XXXVIII milia peditum tuebantur urbem, non situ solum, sed etiam opere munitam. Nam qua spectat Orientem, cingitur amne torrenti, qui praeruptis utrimque ripis aditum ad urbem impedit. Ad Occidentem et a Meridie velut de industria rupes praealtas admolita natura est,[3] infra quas cavernae et voragines longa vetustate in altum cavatae jacent, quaque desinunt, fossa ingentis operis objecta est. XXXV stadium murus urbem complectitur, cujus inferiora saxo, superiora crudo latere sunt structa. Lateri vinculum lapides sunt, quos interposuere, ut duriori materiae fragilis incumberet, simulque terra humore diluta.[4] Ne tamen universa consideret, impositae erant trabes validae quibus injecta tabulata muros et tegebant, et pervios fecerant.[5] Haec munimenta contemplantem Alexandrum, consiliique incertum, quia nec cavernas nisi aggere poterat implere nec tormenta aliter muris admovere, quidam e muro sagitta percussit. Tum forte in suram incidit telum: cujus spiculo evolso, admoveri equum jussit; quo vectus, ne obligato quidem vulnere, haud segnius destinata exequebatur. Ceterum cum crus saucium

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[1] *Ulula* and *Io Bacche* were the usual cries of those employed in celebrating a festival in honour of Bacchus.

[2] Believed to be the modern Kameh, which rises among the northern mountains, and falls into the Cabul (*Cophen*).

[3] 'Nature has, as if intentionally (for the defence of the city), raised up very high rocks.'

[4] Our author uses the word 'earth,' *terra*, in general; but the particular kind was clay, loam, *argilla limus*.

[5] Upon the stone wall were laid strong beams, and on these a wooden erection was made, which served both as a sort of roof to the wall and as a means of communication. *Muri pervii sunt*, when a person can go from one part to another.

penderet, et cruore siccato frigescens vulnus aggravaret dolorem, dixisse fertur, se quidem Jovis filium dici, sed corporis aegri vitia sentire. Non tamen ante se recepit in castra, quam cuncta perspexit, et quae fieri vellet edixit.

38. Ergo, sicut imperatum erat, alii extra urbem tecta moliebantur,[1] ingentemque vim materiae faciendo aggeri detrahebant: alii magnarum arborem stipites cum ramis, ac moles saxorum in cavernas dejiciebant. Jamque agger aequaverat summae fastigium terrae: itaque turres erigebant, quae opera ingenti militum ardore intra nonum diem absoluta sunt. Ad ea visenda rex, nondum obducta vulneri cicatrice,[2] processit, laudatisque militibus, admoveri machinas jussit, e quibus ingens vis telorum in propugnatores effusa est. Praecipue rudes talium operum terrebant mobiles turres, tantasque moles nulla ope quae cerneretur adductas, deorum numine agi credebant, pila quoque muralia[3] et excussas tormentis praegraves hastas negabant convenire mortalibus. Itaque desperata urbis tutela concessere in arcem. Inde, quia nihil obsessis praeter deditionem placebat, legati ad regem descenderunt veniam petituri. Qua impetrata, regina venit cum magno nobilium feminarum grege aureis pateris vina libantium.[4] Ipsa genibus regis parvo filio admoto, non veniam modo, sed etiam pristinae fortunae impetravit decus. Quippe appellata regina est; et credidere quidam, plus formae, quam miserationi datum.[5] Puero quoque certe postea ex ea utcunque genito Alexandro fuit nomen.

39. Hinc Polypercon ad urbem Noram cum exercitu missus, inconditos oppidanos proelio vicit: intra munimenta compulsos secutus, urbem in dicionem redegit. Multa ignobilia oppida deserta a suis venere in regis potestatem. Quorum incolae armati petram Aornin nomine[6] occupaverunt. Hanc ab Hercule frustra obsessam esse, terraeque motu coactum absistere, fama vulgaverat. Inopem consilii Alexandrum, quia undique praeceps et abrupta rupes erat, senior quidam peritus locorum cum duobus filiis adit, si pretium operae esset, aditum se monstraturum esse promittens.

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[1] We may give the sense by 'set to work with:' in connection with the following *detrahebant*, it means 'began to pull down.'

[2] 'Before the wound was cicatrized or skinned over.'

[3] Javelins for assailing the walls. The *pilum* was much thicker and stronger than the ordinary javelins (*jacula*).

[4] They themselves tasted a little of the wine, and presented the rest to the conqueror.

[5] *Aliquid* (*multum*, *plus*) *dare alicui* (*homini*) or *alicui rei*, 'to grant, concede, do something, in consideration of some one or something.'

[6] This appears to be a Greek translation of the native name: 'the rock to which no bird rises (on account of the height).'

LXXX talenta constituit daturum Alexander; et altero ex juvenibus obside[1] retento, ipsum ad exequenda, quae obtulerat, dimisit. Leviter armatis dux datus est Mullinus, scriba regis. Hos enim circuitu qui fallerent hostem,[2] in summum jugum placebat evadere. Petra non, ut pleraeque, modicis ac mollibus clivis[3] in sublime fastigium crescit, sed in metae maxime modum[4] erecta est, cujus ima spatiosiora sunt, altiora in artius coëunt, summa in acutum cacumen exsurgunt. Radices ejus Indus amnis subit, praealtus, utrimque asperis ripis: ab altera parte voragines eluviesque[5] praeruptae sunt. Nec alia expugnandi patebat via, quam ut replerentur. Ad manum silva erat, quam rex ita caedi jussit, ut nudi stipites jacerentur: quippe rami fronde vestiti impedissent ferentes. Ipse primus truncam arborem jecit; clamorque exercitus, index alacritatis, secutus est, nullo detrectante munus, quod rex occupavisset.

40. Intra septimum diem cavernas expleverant, cum rex sagittarios et Agrianos jubet per ardua niti. Juvenesque promptissimos ex sua cohorte XXX delegit. Duces his dati sunt Charus et Alexander, quem rex nominis, quod sibi cum eo commune esset, admonuit. Ac primo, quia tam manifestum periculum erat, ipsum regem discrimen subire non placuit: sed ut signum tuba datum est, vir audaciae promptae conversus ad corporis custodes sequi se jubet, primusque invadit in rupem.[6] Nec deinde quisquam Macedonum substitit, relictisque stationibus sua sponte regem sequebantur. Multorum miserabilis fuit casus, quos ex praerupta rupe lapsos amnis praeterfluens hausit, triste spectaculum etiam non periclitantibus; cum vero alieno exitio, quid ipsis timendum foret, admonerentur, in metum misericordia versa, non extinctos, sed semetipsos deflebant. Et jam eo perventum erat, unde sine pernicie nisi victores redire non possent, ingentia saxa in subeuntes provolventibus barbaris, quis perculsi instabili et lubrico gradu praecipites recidebant.[7] Evaserant tamen Alexander et Charus, quos cum

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[1] With regard to this construction, see Zumpt, § 394, note 2.

[2] 'That by making a circuit they might deceive (be unnoticed by) the enemy.'

[3] 'Ascents.'

[4] The stone *meta*, the goal in a race-course, had the form of a sugar-loaf.

[5] 'Chasms and clefts' formed by the action of water. The old Indian had guided Mullinus to the one peak of the rock, opposite to that which was occupied by the barbarians. The next thing to be done was to fill up the clefts, and thus reach the other peak.

[6] 'He presses on to the rock.'

[7] 'By which they were struck, and, their footing being insecure and slippery, were ever and anon falling down headlong.'

XXX delectis praemiserat rex, et jam pugnare comminus coeperant; sed cum superne tela barbari ingererent, saepius ipsi feriebantur, quam vulnerabant. Ergo Alexander, et nominis sui et promissi memor, dum acrius quam cautius dimicat, confossus undique obruitur.[1] Quem ut Charus jacentem conspexit, ruere in hostem, omnium praeter ultionem immemor, coepit, multosque hasta, quosdam gladio interemit; sed cum tot unum incesserent manus, super amici corpus procubuit exanimis. Haud secus, quam par erat, promptissimorum juvenum ceterorumque militum interitu commotus rex signum receptui dedit. Saluti fuit, quod sensim et intrepidi se receperunt; et barbari, hostem depulisse contenti, non institere cedentibus.

41. Ceterum Alexander cum statuisset desistere incepto, (quippe nulla spes potiundae petrae offerebatur), tamen speciem ostendit in obsidione perseverantis. Nam et itinera obsideri jussit, et turres admoveri, et fatigatis alios succedere. Cujus pertinacia cognita, Indi per biduum quidem ac duas noctes, cum ostentatione non fiduciae modo, sed etiam victoriae, epulati sunt, tympana suo more pulsantes. Tertia vero nocte tympanorum quidem strepitus desierat audiri; ceterum ex tota petra faces refulgebant, quas accenderant barbari, ut tutior esset ipsis fuga, obscura nocte per invia saxa cursuris. Rex, Balacro, qui specularetur, praemisso, cognoscit petram fuga Indorum esse desertam. Tum dato signo, ut universi conclamarent, incomposite fugientibus metum incussit. Multique, tanquam adesset hostis, per lubrica saxa, perque invias cotes praecipitati occiderunt; plures aliqua membrorum parte mulcati, ab integris deserti sunt. Rex locorum magis quam hostium victor, tamen magnam victoriam sacrificiis et cultu deum fecit.[2] Arae in petra locatae sunt Minervae Victoriaeque. Ducibus itineris, quo subire jusserat leviter armatos,[3] etsi promissis minora praestiterant, pretium cum fide redditum est. Petrae regionisque ei adjunctae Sisocosto tutela permissa. Inde processit Ecbolima: et cum angustias itineris obsideri XX milibus armatorum ab Erice quodam comperisset, gravius agmen exercitus

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[1] 'He is struck, and buried under a mass of missiles thrown at him from all sides.'

[2] 'By offering sacrifices he gave the victory an appearance of importance.'

[3] 'To the guides of the road, to which (that is, to the guides who had shown the way to the point, to which) he had ordered the light-armed soldiers (under Mullinus) to ascend.' These guides had not, according to their promise, led the Macedonians to the peak occupied by the barbarians; but they had brought them so near, that an attack was practicable.

Coeno ducendum modicis itineribus tradidit. Ipse praegressus, funditore ac sagittario,[1] deturbatis qui obsederant saltum, sequentibus se copiis viam fecit. Indi, sive odio ducis, sive gratiam victoris inituri, Ericen fugientem adorti interemerunt, caputque ejus atque arma ad Alexandrum detulerunt. Ille facto impunitatem dedit, honorem denegavit exemplo.

42. Hinc ad flumen Indum[2] sextisdecimis castris pervenit, omniaque, ut praeceperat, ad trajiciendum praeparata ab Hephaestione repperit. Regnabat in ea regione[3] Omphis, qui patri quoque fuerat auctor dedendi regnum Alexandro, et post mortem parentis legatos miserat, qui consulerent eum, regnare se interim vellet, an privatum opperiri ejus adventum. Permissusque[4] ut regnaret, non tamen jus datum usurpare sustinuit. Is benigne quidem exceperat Hephaestionem, gratuitum frumentum copiis ejus admensus, non tamen ei occurrerat, ne fidem ullius nisi regis experiretur. Itaque venienti obviam cum armato exercitu egressus est; elephanti quoque per modica intervalla militum agmini immixti, procul castellorum fecerant speciem. Ac primo Alexander non socium, sed hostem adventare credebat. Jamque et ipse arma milites capere, et equites discedere in cornua jusserat, paratus ad pugnam. At Indus, cognito Macedonum errore, jussis subsistere ceteris, ipse concitat equum, quo vehebatur: idem Alexander quoque fecit, sive hostis, sive amicus occurreret, vel sua virtute, vel illius fide tutus. Coivere, quod ex utriusque vultu posset[5] intelligi, amicis animis: ceterum sine interprete non poterat conseri sermo. Itaque adhibito eo, barbarus occurrisse se dixit cum exercitu, totas imperii vires protinus traditurum, nec expectasse, dum per

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[1] The singular, as is common in the names of particular kinds of troops, is here used collectively, for *funditoribus ac sagittariis*. The use of the mere instrumental ablative, instead of the accusative with *per*, which is the regular construction when persons are the means employed by another for doing anything, is not unfrequent in military language. In fact soldiers are mere machines, not thinking agents. Compare Zumpt, § 473.

[2] That is, to that part of the Indus which, when he sent away Hephaestion, he had appointed as the place where the bridge was to be built. This, from geographical reasons, could not well be any other point but that where the Cophen (Cabul River) joins the Indus; for to it Hephaestion, with the main body of the army, had had a plain and easy route along the south bank of the Cophen.

[3] That is, beyond the Indus, or, if on this side at all, at least chiefly beyond.

[4] An irregular expression for *cumque ei permissum esset ut regnaret.*

[5] As to this subjunctive, see Zumpt, § 559.

nuntios daretur fides. Corpus suum et regnum permittere illi, quem sciret gloriae[1] militantem, nihil magis quam famam timere perfidiae.

43. Laetus simplicitate barbari rex et dexteram fidei suae pignus dedit, et regnum restituit. LVI elephanti erant, quos tradidit Alexandro, multaque pecora eximiae magnitudinis, tauros ad III milia, pretiosum in ea regione acceptumque animis regnantium armentum. Quaerenti Alexandro, plures agricultores haberet an milites? cum duobus regibus bellanti sibi majore militum quam agrestium manu opus esse respondit. Abisares et Porus erant, sed in Poro eminebat auctoritas. Uterque ultra Hydaspen amnem regnabat,[2] et belli fortunam, quisquis arma inferret, experiri decreverat. Omphis, permittente Alexandro, et regium insigne sumpsit, et more gentis suae nomen, quod patris fuerat. Taxilen appellavere populares, sequente nomine imperium, in quemcunque transiret.[3] Igitur cum per triduum hospitaliter Alexandrum accepisset, quarto die et quantum frumenti copiis, quas Hephaestion duxerat, praebitum a se esset, ostendit, et aureas coronas ipsi amicisque omnibus, praeter haec signati argenti LXXX talenta dono dedit. Qua benignitate ejus Alexander mire laetus, et quae is dederat remisit, et mille talenta ex praeda, quam vehebat, adjecit, multaque convivalia ex auro et argento vasa, plurimum Persicae vestis, XXX equos ex suis, cum iisdem insignibus, quis assueverant,[4] cum ipsum veherent. Quae liberalitas sicut barbarum obstrinxerat, ita amicos ipsius vehementer offendit. E quibus Meleager, super coenam largiore vino usus, gratulari se Alexandro dixit, quod saltem in India repperisset dignum talentis mille. Rex, haud oblitus quam aegre tulisset, quod Clitum ob linguae termeritatem occidisset, iram quidem tenuit, sed dixit, invidos homines nihil aliud, quam ipsorum esse tormenta.

44. Postero die legati Abisarae adiere regem. Omnia dicioni ejus, ita ut mandatum erat, permittebant; firmataque invicem fide, remittuntur ad regem. Porum quoque nominis sui fama ratus ad deditionem posse compelli, misit ad eum Cleocharen, qui denuntiaret ei, ut stipendium penderet, et in primo suorum finium aditu occurreret regi. Porus alterum

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[1] 'To be warring for glory.'

[2] Abisares, in the north, towards the upper part of the river; Porus further south.

[3] Taxiles was therefore a title of honour, assumed by every monarch when he succeeded to the throne. As to *transiret*, see *Gram.* § 355, note 3. The capital of this king's country was called Taxila, and was situated between the Indus and the Hydaspes.

[4] 'Which they usually had.'

ex his facturum sese respondit, ut intranti regnum suum praesto esset, sed armatus. Jam Hydaspen Alexander superare decreverat, cum Barzaentes, defectionis Arachosiis auctor,[1] vinctus, trigintaque elephanti simul capti perducuntur, opportunum adversus Indos auxilium, quippe plus in beluis, quam in exercitu spei ac virium illis erat. Samaxusque, rex exiguae partis Indorum,[2] qui Barzaenti se conjunxerat, vinctus adductus est. Igitur transfuga et regulo in custodiam, elephantis autem Taxili traditis, ad amnem Hydaspen pervenit, in cujus ulteriore ripa Porus consederat, transitu[3] prohibiturus hostem. LXXX et V elephantos objecerat eximio corporum robore, ultraque eos currus CCC, et peditum XXX fere milia, in quis erant sagittarii, sicuti ante dictum est, gravioribus telis, quam ut apte excuti possent. Ipsum vehebat elephantus super ceteras beluas eminens: armaque auro et argento distincta corpus rarae magnitudinis honestabant. Par animus robori corporis, et quanta inter rudes poterat esse sapientia.

45. Macedonas non conspectus hostium solum, sed etiam fluminis, quod transeundum erat, magnitudo terrebat. Quattuor in latitudinem stadia diffusum, profundo alveo, et nusquam vada aperiente, speciem vasti maris fecerat. Nec pro spatio aquarum late stagnantium impetum coercebat;[4] sed quasi in artum coëuntibus ripis, torrens et elisus ferebatur:[5] occultaque saxa inesse ostendebant pluribus locis undae repercussae. Terribilior erat facies ripae, quam equi virique compleverant. Stabant ingentes vastorum corporum moles,[6] et de industria irritatae horrendo stridore[7] aures fatigabant. Hinc amnis, hinc hostis capacia quidem bonae spei[8] pectora et saepe se experta improviso tamen pavore percusserant. Quippe instabiles rates nec dirigi ad ripam, nec tuto applicari posse credebant. Erant in medio amne insulae crebrae, in quas et Indi et Macedones nantes, levatis super capita

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[1] See vi. 24.

[2] That is, of the Indians on this side the Indus.

[3] As to the construction, see *Gram.* § 297.

[4] 'And it did not restrain the rapidity of its course in proportion to the wide extent over which its waters were spread.'

[5] 'It rushed along furiously and rapidly.' *Torrens* is the standing word for an impetuous mountain stream.

[6] 'The huge masses of uncouth bodies (the elephants).'

[7] Our author calls the peculiar sound which an elephant emits through its trunk *stridor*, 'a whistling.' The particular name of this sound is *barritus*, just as *hinnitus* of horses, 'neighing;' *mugitus* of bulls, 'bellowing;' *balatus* of sheep, 'bleating;' *ruditus* of asses, 'braying;' *rugitus* of lions, 'roaring.'

[8] 'Which at other times could easily contain good hope.'

armis, transibant. Ibi levia proelia conserebantur,[1] et uterque rex parvae rei discrimine summae experiebatur eventum. Ceterum in Macedonum exercitu temeritate atque audacia insignes fuere Symmachus et Nicanor, nobiles juvenes, et perpetua partium felicitate ad spernendum omne periculum accensi. Quis ducibus[2] promptissimi juvenum lanceis modo armati transnavere in insulam, quam frequens hostis tenebat; multosque Indorum, nulla re melius quam audacia armati, interemerunt. Abire cum gloria poterant, si unquam temeritas felix inveniret modum; sed dum supervenientes contemptim et superbe quoque expectant, circumventi ab his, qui occulti enaverant, eminus obruti telis sunt. Qui effugerant hostem aut impetu amnis ablati sunt, aut verticibus impliciti.

46. Eaque pugna multum Pori fiduciam erexit, cuncta cernentis e ripa. Alexander, inops consilii,[3] tandem ad fallendum hostem talem dolum intendit.[4] Erat insula in flumine amplior ceteris, silvestris eadem et tegendis insidiis apta. Fossa quoque praealta haud procul ripa, quam tenebat ipse, non pedites modo, sed etiam cum equis viros poterat abscondere. Igitur ut a custodia hujus opportunitatis[5] oculos hostium averteret, Ptolemaeum omnibus turmis obequitare[6] jussit procul insula, et subinde Indos clamore terrere, quasi flumen transnaturus foret. Per complures dies Ptolemaeus id fecit, eoque consilio Porum quoque agmen suum ei parti, quam se petere simulabat, coëgit advertere. Jam extra conspectum hostis insula erat. Alexander in diversa parte ripae statui suum tabernaculum jussit, assuetamque comitari ipsum cohortem ante id tabernaculum stare, et omnem apparatum regiae magnificentiae hostium oculis de industria ostendi. Attalum etiam, aequalem sibi, et haud disparem habitu oris et corporis, utique cum procul viseretur, veste regia exornat, praebiturum speciem ipsum regem illi ripae praesidere,[7] nec agitare de transitu. Hujus consilii effectum primo morata tempestas est, mox adjuvit, incommoda quoque ad bonos

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[1] 'Skirmishes were engaged in.'

[2] 'With these at their head.'

[3] 'Possessed of no plan;' that is, he had long been unable to come to any determination as to his mode of proceeding, but at length, &c.

[4] 'He stretched (that is, put in practice) the following stratagem.' In the same manner *iter*, *bellum intendere*.

[5] 'Suitable or convenient circumstance.'

[6] 'To ride along the bank of the river, with all the troops of cavalry, threatening the enemy.' The ideas of 'along,' and 'against,' are implied in *ob*. As to the ablative instead of *cum*, compare note viii. 41.

[7] 'Was occupying that part of the bank.'

eventus vertente fortuna. Trajicere amnem cum ceteris copiis in regionem insulae,[1] de qua ante dictum est, parabat, averso hoste in eos, qui cum Ptolemaeo inferiorem obsederant ripam; cum procella imbrem vix sub tectis tolerabilem effundit. Obrutique milites nimbo in terram refugerunt, navigiis ratibusque desertis. Sed tumultuantium fremitus, obstrepentibus ventis, ab hoste non poterat audiri. Deinde momento temporis repressus est[2] imber, ceterum adeo spissae intendere se nubes, ut conderent lucem, vixque colloquentium inter ipsos facies noscitarentur. Terruisset alium obducta nox coelo, cum ignoto amne navigandum esset, forsitan hoste eam ipsam ripam, quam caeci atque improvidi et ex periculo gloriam accersentes petebant, occupante. Obscuritatem, quae ceteros terrebat, suam occasionem ratus,[3] dato signo, ut omnes silentio ascenderent, ratem eam, qua ipse vehebatur, primam jussit expelli. Vacua erat ab hostibus ripa, quae petebatur; quippe adhuc Porus Ptolemaeum tantum intuebatur. Una ergo navi, quam petrae fluctus illiserat, haerente, ceterae evadunt; armaque capere milites, et ire in ordines jussit.

47. Jamque agmen in cornua divisum ipse ducebat, cum Poro nuntiatur, armis virisque ripam obtineri, et rerum adesse discrimen. Ac primo[4] humani ingenii vitio spei suae indulgens, Abisaren belli socium (et ita convenerat) adventare credebat. Mox liquidiore luce aperiente hostem, C quadrigas et IIII milia equitum venienti agmini objecit. Dux erat copiarum, quas praemisit, Hages frater ipsius, summa virium in curribus. Senos viros singuli vehebant, duos clipeatos, duos sagittarios, ab utroque latere dispositos: aurigae erant ceteri, haud sane inermes, quippe jacula complura, ubi comminus proeliandum erat, omissis habenis, in hostem ingerebant. Ceterum vix ullus usus hujus auxilii eo die fuit. Namque, ut supra dictum est, imber violentius quam alias fusus campos lubricos et inequitabiles[5] fecerat; gravesque et propemodum immobiles currus illuvie ac voraginibus[6] haerebant. Contra Alexander expedito ac levi agmine strenue invectus est. Scythae et Dahae primi omnium invasere Indos: Perdiccam deinde cum equitibus in dextrum cornu hostium emisit. Jam undique pugna se

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[1] 'In the direction of that island.'

[2] 'Ceased,' 'was checked' (by the gods).

[3] He looked upon the darkness as a fortunate circumstance for him.

[4] 'At first:' this is the adverb, not the adjective agreeing with *vitio*.

[5] 'Unfit for cavalry, for or riding over.'

[6] 'In mud and holes.'

moverat; cum hi, qui currus agebant, illud[1] ultimum auxilium suorum rati, effusis habenis in medium discrimen ruere coeperunt. Anceps id malum utrisque erat: nam et Macedonum pedites primo impetu obterebantur, et per lubrica atque invia immissi currus excutiebant[2] eos, a quibus regebantur: aliorum turbati equi non in voragines modo lacunasque, sed etiam in amnem praecipitavere curricula;[3] pauci telis hostium exacti penetravere ad Porum acerrime pugnam cientem.

48. Is, ut dissipatos tota acie currus vagari sine rectoribus vidit, proximis amicorum distribuit elephantos. Post eos posuerat peditem ac sagittarios et tympana pulsare solitos. Id pro cantu tubarum Indis erat, nec strepitu eorum movebantur,[4] olim ad notum sonum auribus mitigatis. Herculis[5] simulacrum agmini peditum praeferebatur. Id maximum erat bellantibus incitamentum, et deseruisse gestantes militare flagitium habebatur. Capitis etiam sanxerant poenam his, qui ex acie non rettulissent, metu, quem ex illo hoste quondam conceperant, etiam in religionem venerationemque converso. Macedonas non beluarum modo, sed etiam ipsius regis aspectus parumper inhibuit. Beluae dispositae inter armatos speciem turrium procul fecerant. Ipse Porus humanae magnitudinis propemodum excesserat formam. Magnitudini Pori adjicere videbatur belua, qua vehebatur, tantum inter ceteras eminens, quanto[6] aliis ipse praestabat. Itaque Alexander, contemplatus et regem et agmen Indorum, Tandem, inquit, par animo meo periculum video. Cum bestiis simul et cum egregiis viris res est. Intuensque Coenon, Cum ego, inquit, Ptolemaeo Perdiccaque et Hephaestione[7] comitatus in laevum hostium cornu impetum

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[1] We say 'this:' 'considering this (namely, what I am about to mention) as the last means of assisting their comrades.' But in the narration of past events, *hic*, with its correlatives, changes into *ille*. See Zumpt, § 703.

[2] By sudden changes from one direction to another.

[3] 'Chariots:' in the singular, 'a horse-race,' or 'a race-course.'

[4] Supply *elephanti*, which were not excited or alarmed by this beating of drums.

[5] No doubt the figure of an Indian god, whom the Greeks identified with their Heracles. It was probably Crishna, an incarnation of Vishnu of whom the Indian mythology relates exploits similar to those of Heracles.

[6] 'By how much,' or 'by as much as:' *quantum* might also have been used. See Zumpt, § 488, note 2.

[7] *Comitatus*, when used passively ('accompanied') is followed by the mere ablative, not by *ab*.

fecero, viderisque me in medio ardore certaminis, ipse dextrum move,[1] et turbatis signa infer. Tu Antigene[2] et tu Leonnate, et Tauron, invehemini in mediam aciem, et urgebitis frontem. Hastae nostrae praelongae et validae non alias magis quam adversus beluas rectoresque earum usui esse poterunt: deturbate eos, qui vehuntur, et ipsas confodite. Anceps genus auxilii est, et in suos acrius furit. In hostem enim imperio, in suos pavore agitur. Haec elocutus concitat equum primus; jamque, ut destinatum erat, invaserat ordines hostium, cum Coenus ingenti vi in laevum[3] cornu invehitur. Phalanx quoque mediam Indorum aciem uno impetu perrupit.

49. At Porus, qua equitem invehi senserat, beluas agi jussit: sed tardum et paene immobile animal equorum velocitatem aequare non poterat. Ne sagittarum quidem ullus erat barbaris usus. Quippe longas et praegraves, nisi prius in terra statuerent arcum, haud satis apte et commode imponunt: tum humo lubrica, et ob id impediente conatum,[4] molientes ictus, celeritate hostium occupantur. Ergo sprete regis imperio (quod fere fit, ubi turbatis acrius metus quam dux imperare coepit), totidem erant imperatores, quot agmina errabant. Alius jungere aciem, alius dividere, stare quidam, et nonnulli circumvehi terga hostium jubebant. Nihil in medium consulebatur. Porus tamen cum paucis, quibus metu potior fuerat pudor, colligere dispersos, obvius hosti ire pergit, elephantosque ante agmen suorum agi jubet. Magnum beluae injecere terrorem, insolitusque stridor non equos modo, tam pavidum ad omnia animal, sed viros quoque ordinesque turbaverat. Jam fugae circumspiciebant locum paulo ante victores; cum Alexander Agrianos et Thracas leviter armatos, meliorem concursatione[5] quam comminus militem, emisit in beluas. Ingentem hi vim telorum injecere et elephantis et regentibus eos. Phalanx quoque instare constanter territis coepit. Sed quidam avidius persecuti beluas in semet irritavere vulneribus. Obtriti ergo pedibus earum ceteris, ut parcius instarent, fuere documen-

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[1] 'Put the right wing of the enemy in motion;' that is, 'attack it, and force it to retire.'

[2] As to this vocative, see *Gram.* § 70, 3.

[3] According to what has gone before, it should be *dextrum.*

[4] 'The strain;' namely, in drawing the bow.

[5] *Concursatio* is when two parties rush furiously against one another; but it includes also a tumultuous rush back; whereas a fight hand-to-hand is a *stabilis pugna.*

tum. Praecipue terribilis illa facies erat, cum manu[1] arma virosque corriperent, et super se regentibus traderent. Anceps ergo pugna nunc sequentium, nunc fugientium elephantos, in multum diei[2] varium certamen extraxit; donec securibus (id namque genus auxilii praeparatum erat) pedes amputare coeperunt. Copidas vocabant gladios leviter curvatos falcibus similes, quis appetebant beluarum manus. Nec quicquam inexpertum non mortis modo, sed etiam in ipsa morte novi supplicii, timor omittebat.[3]

50. Ergo elephanti vulneribus tandem fatigati suos impetu sternunt, et qui rexerant eos, praecipitati in terram, ab ipsis obterebantur. Itaque pecorum modo magis pavidi, quam infesti, ultra aciem exigebantur; cum Porus, destitutus a pluribus, tela multo ante praeparata in circumfusos ex elephanto suo coepit ingerere, multisque eminus vulneratis, expositus ipse ad ictus undique petebatur. Novem jam vulnera hinc tergo, illinc pectore exceperat, multoque sanguine profuso languidis manibus magis elapsa, quam excussa tela mittebat.[4] Nec segnius belua, instincta rabie, nondum saucia invehebatur ordinibus; donec rector beluae regem conspexit fluentibus membris[5] omissisque armis vix compotem mentis. Tum beluam in fugam concitat, sequente Alexandro: sed equus ejus multis vulneribus confossus deficiensque procubuit, posito magis rege, quam effuso. Itaque dum equum mutat, tardius insecutus est. Interim frater Taxilis, regis Indorum, praemissus ab Alexandro, monere coepit Porum, ne ultima experiri perseveraret, dederetque se victori. At ille, quamquam exhaustae erant vires, deficiebatque sanguis, tamen ad notam vocem excitatus, Agnosco, inquit, Taxilis fratrem, imperii regnique sui proditoris: et telum, quod unum forte non effluxerat, contorsit in eum: quod per medium pectus penetravit ad tergum. Hoc ultimo virtutis opere edito, fugere acrius coepit: sed elephantus quoque, qui multa exceperat tela, deficiebat. Itaque sistit fugam, peditemque sequenti hosti objecit. Jam Alexander

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[1] 'With the trunk;' for the *proboscis* of the elephant was, from its use, called also *manus*.

[2] See *Gram.* § 275, *a*, 'for a great part of the day.'

[3] 'The fear (which they had of the elephants) left no means untried, not only to kill them, but even to inflict in death some additional pain.' That the soldiers had any intention to inflict unnecessary pain upon the animals we cannot for a moment believe: this statement is a mere rhetorical exaggeration.

[4] 'He rather let the missiles slip out of his hands than threw them.'

[5] 'With his limbs relaxed and powerless.'

consecutus erat, et pertinacia Pori cognita, vetabat resistentibus parci. Ergo undique et in pedites et in ipsum Porum tela congesta sunt: quis tandem gravatus labi ex belua coepit. Indus, qui elephantum regebat, descendere eum ratus, more solito elephantum procumbere jussit in genua: qui ut se submisit, ceteri quoque, ita enim instituti erant, demisere corpora in terram. Ea res et Porum et ceteros[1] victoribus tradidit.

51. Rex spoliari corpus Pori, interemptum esse credens, jubet, et qui detraherent loricam vestemque, concurrere; cum belua dominum tueri et spoliantes coepit appetere, levatumque corpus ejus rursus dorso suo imponere.[2] Ergo telis undique obruitur, confossoque eo, in vehiculum Porus imponitur. Quem rex ut vidit allevantem oculos, non odio, sed miseratione commotus, Quae, malum, inquit, amentia te coëgit, rerum mearum cognita fama, belli fortunam experiri: cum Taxilis esset in deditos clementiae meae tam propinquum tibi exemplum?[3] At ille, Quoniam, inquit, percontaris, respondebo ea libertate, quam interrogando fecisti. Neminem me fortiorem esse censebam. Meas enim noveram vires, nondum expertus tuas: fortiorem esse te, belli docuit eventus. Sed ne sic quidem parum felix sum, secundus tibi. Rursus interrogatus, quid ipse victorem statuere debere censeret.[4] Quod hic, inquit, dies tibi suadet, quo expertus es, quam caduca felicitas esset.[5] Plus monendo profecit, quam si precatus esset. Quippe magnitudinem animi ejus interritam, ac ne fortuna quidem infractam, non misericordia modo, sed etiam honore excipere dignatus est. Aegrum curavit haud secus, quam si pro ipso pugnasset; confirmatum contra spem omnium in amicorum numerum recepit; mox donavit

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[1] 'All the others as well as Porus.'

[2] When the faithful animal saw the enemies flocking towards Porus, supposed to be dead, it protected him, struck at those who were busying themselves about his body, and endeavoured to raise him up again, and set him upon its back.

[3] 'Since you had in the case of Taxiles so near an instance of my clemency to those who submitted to me.' *Exemplum* here governs two genitives, *Taxilis* and *clementiae*. *Taxilis* is a *genetivus epexegeticus*, or explanatory, for Taxiles himself is the example. See *Gram.* § 274.

[4] 'What was his own opinion as to the fate that the conqueror should appoint for him.'

[5] We should expect *sit*. But the Latin idiom is fond of the form of narration by the imperfect in dependent clauses. See Zumpt § 504, *ad fin.*

ampliore regno, quam tenuit.[1] Nec sane quicquam ingenium ejus solidius[2] aut constantius habuit, quam admirationem verae laudis et gloriae: simplicius[3] tamen famam aestimabat in hoste, quam in cive. Quippe a suis credebat magnitudinem suam destrui[4] posse, eandem[5] clariorem fore, quo majores fuissent, quos ipse vicisset.

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[1] More commonly *quam tenuerat.*

[2] 'More firmly.

[3] 'With less reserve or greater freedom from prejudice.'

[4] 'To be thrown into the shade.'

[5] 'But that it.' This 'but,' connecting two opposed predicates, is implied in the pronoun *idem.* See Zumpt, § 697.



LIBER IX.

(1) Alexander offers sacrifices in gratitude for his decisive victory over Porus (beginning of May, 326 B.C.), orders a fleet to be built on the Hydaspes, and founds two cities on the banks of that river (Bucephala and Nicaea). King Abisares attempts to negotiate terms of submission. (2) Alexander crosses another river, passes through beautiful forests, then traverses a desert, and at last reaches the river Hyarotis, which he crosses. (3) The inhabitants of a great city (Sangala) defend themselves with chariots, but they are routed, and their town is taken. (4) The country is ravaged: one city is taken, whilst its inhabitants are distracted by dissensions, and the other towns of the tribe (the Cathaei) are compelled to submit. (5) Sopithes, king of a nation distinguished for wisdom and physical beauty, surrenders. (6) Among the presents that he brings, there are hounds, which display astonishing agility and strength. Alexander advances to the Hyphasis, where Phegeus, the king of the country, submits. (7) Alexander obtains the information that beyond the Hyphasis, after eleven days' march through deserts, live the Gangaridae and Prasii, possessed of great military power, but governed by a contemptible king. The question suggests itself to him, whether the Macedonians may be disposed to follow him across the Hyphasis. (8, 9, 10) He convokes an assembly of the soldiers, and delivers a speech, in which he discusses the often-talked-of difficulties that lie in his way, representing them partly as exaggerated, and partly as not at all insurmountable by men who had already performed such exploits; and concludes by earnestly intreating them not to desert him in this last struggle. (11) The soldiers are silent; Alexander becomes enraged; the whole assembly melts into tears. (12) At last Coenus speaks; he represents to the king the weariness and exhaustion of the army, and proposes to him to give up the expedition to the east, and to march by a shorter route — namely, the southern—to the Indian Ocean, which it was his aim to reach. (13) The other generals and the whole army unite their intreaties. Alexander conquers his ambitious wishes, and on the third day yields to the desire of the army. He orders memorials of his expedition to be erected; and marches back to the fleet which he had directed to be built. The army is considerably supplemented. Alexander, with a thousand ships, begins the long expedition — it occupied at least seven months — down the rivers Hydaspes, Acesines and Indus, to the Indian Ocean. (14) Near

the junction of the Hydaspes and Acesines, he marches aside into the country of the Sibi; a city is burned by its own inhabitants, and the king leaves a garrison in the citadel, which is unharmed. (The name of this town, according to Diodorus, was Agallassa.) (15) Near this town the fleet is placed, by the violent confluence of the rivers with the Indus, in great danger. (According to other authors, this happened at the junction of the Hydaspes and Acesines; on this account the territories of the tribes presently to be mentioned must have been situated further north.) (16) Alexander arrives in the country of the Oxydracae and Malli, who have raised a large army. The Macedonians are uneasy at the prospect of encountering this new danger, but Alexander encourages them to face it. (17) When the Macedonians vigorously and resolutely make an attack, the enemies flee. (18) Alexander is not deterred by the warning of a soothsayer from storming the town of the Oxydracae, (or, according to others, of the Malli). He himself is the first to mount the wall. The ladder breaks under the weight of those who follow him. (19) Alexander, left alone, leaps down into the town, and defends himself against the assaults of the inhabitants, (20) but is wounded, and placed in the greatest danger, (21) till first some single Macedonians come to his assistance, and then the whole army, moved with grief, make a breach in the wall, and rush in. (22) Alexander submits with manly fortitude to a painful and dangerous surgical operation, (23) and recovers. (24) Craterus conveys to him the earnest prayer of his friends that he will not expose himself so much as heretofore. (25, 26) Alexander, touched by their affectionate zeal, thanks them warmly, but at the same time declares that he lives only for fame, and that if his friends will guard him from intestine conspiracies, he will place his trust in the gods so far as open war is concerned. (27) An episode describing a revolt of the Greeks settled in Bactria, who, under the command of Biton, return home. (28) The Oxydracae and Malli submit. The king gives a great feast to celebrate this event, (29) during which a quarrel arises between Dioxippus, an Athenian pugilist, and a Macedonian soldier. The issue of this is a remarkable duel, in which the pugilist comes off victorious. But the intrigues of the Macedonians drive Dioxippus to commit suicide. (30) The Oxydracae and Malli bring presents. The Sabarcae, terrified at the sight of the large Macedonian army, lay aside any idea of resistance. (31) Alexander founds a city called Alexandria at the confluence of the Acesines and Indus. The Musicani submit; also the Praesti, whose king, Porticanus, however, delaying to surrender, is slain. (32) The country of King Sambus is attacked; the revolted Musicani are again subdued. (33) The inhabitants of a city in the country of Sambus fight with poisoned weapons. Ptolemy, a man highly esteemed and beloved by all, would have died of his wound, had not the healing power of an herb been revealed to the king in a dream.

(34) The army arrives at Patala (where the Indus divides into two streams, and begins to form a delta). Alexander, anxious to see the ocean, continues the voyage without guides, and lands on the third day on an island near the mouth of the river. (35) The tide flows much more violently than the Macedonians expect, and occasions great confusion, (36) which the ebb increases. (37) By the exertions of the king, and the insight obtained into the natural phenomena of the ocean, quietness is restored. Alexander sails for some distance out into the sea, joyous that his great object has at last been attained. (38) He winters in Patala. (According to other authors, he had wintered further up the Indus, and we are now in the summer of 325 B.C.). He founds towns, arranges the return-march by several routes, and sends a part of the fleet to sail from the Indus to the Euphrates. (39) March of the division led by Alexander himself along the sea-coast. (40) In the country of the Ichthyophagi (or in the desert part of Cedrosia), the army is reduced to a state of the utmost distress by hunger, fatigue, and sickness. (41) At last Alexander reaches the cultivated part of Cedrosia, and receives news of the rest of the army. Thence he marches to Carmania, the governor of which, Aspastes, is accused of a disposition to treachery. (42) The losses of the army are, as far as possible, repaired, and Alexander, to refresh and amuse the soldiers, appoints a merry, jovial march through Carmania, for seven days, which represents the return from India of victorious Bacchus.

ALEXANDER, tam memorabili victoria laetus, qua sibi Orientis fines apertos esse censebat, Soli victimis caesis, milites quoque, quo promptioribus animis reliqua belli[1] obirent, pro contione laudatos docuit, quicquid Indis virium fuisset, illa dimicatione prostratum; cetera opimam praedam fore, celebratasque opes in ea regione eminere, quam peterent. Proinde jam vilia et obsoleta esse spolia de Persis: gemmis margaritisque et auro atque ebore Macedoniam Graeciamque, non suas tantum domos, repletum ire.[2] Avidi milites et pecuniae et gloriae, simul quia nunquam eos affirmatio ejus fefellerat, pollicentur operam: dimissisque cum bona spe, navigia exaedificari jubet, ut, cum totam Asiam percurrisset,[3] finem terrarum mare inviseret. Multa materia navalis in proximis montibus erat: quam caedere aggressi, magnitudinis inusitatae repperere serpentes. Rhinocerotes

[1] Equivalent to *reliquum bellum*. See *Gram.* § 275, *c*, note 3. In the same way a little after, *cetera Indiae*, 'the other parts of India.'

[2] 'They (the soldiers) were going to fill'—that is, 'would fill;' equivalent to *repleturos esse*. See Zumpt, § 669.

[3] The reduplication in the compounds of *curro* is found in Curtius only in one passage, vi. 9, *transcucurrimus*.

quoque, rarum alibi animal, in iisdem montibus erant. Ceterum hoc nomen beluis inditum a Graecis: sermonis ejus ignari aliud lingua sua usurpant. Rex, duabus urbibus conditis in utraque fluminis, quod superaverat, ripa,[1] copiarum duces coronis et mille aureis singulos donat: ceteris quoque pro portione[2] aut gradus, quem in amicitia obtinebant, aut navatae operae, honos habitus est. Abisares, qui prius quam cum Poro dimicaretur legatos ad Alexandrum miserat, rursus alios misit, pollicentes, omnia facturum, quae imperasset, modo ne cogeretur corpus suum dedere:[3] neque enim aut sine regio imperio victurum, aut regnaturum esse captivum. Cui Alexander nuntiari jussit, si gravaretur ad se venire, ipsum ad eum esse venturum.

2. Hinc, Poro amne superato,[4] ad interiora Indiae processit. Silvae erant prope in immensum spatium diffusae, procerisque et in eximiam altitudinem editis arboribus umbrosae. Plerique rami instar ingentium stipitum flexi in humum, rursus qua se curvaverant erigebantur, adeo ut species esset non rami resurgentis, sed arboris ex sua radice generatae. Coeli temperies salubris; quippe et vim solis umbrae levant, et aquae largae manant e fontibus. Ceterum hic quoque serpentium magna vis erat, squamis fulgorem auri reddentibus. Virus haud ullum magis noxium est, quippe morsum praesens mors sequebatur; donec ab incolis remedium oblatum est. Hinc per deserta ventum est ad flumen Hyarotim.[5] Junctum erat flumini nemus, opacum arboribus alibi inusitatis, agrestiumque pavonum multitudine frequens. Castris inde motis oppidum haud procul positum corona capit, obsidibusque acceptis stipendium imponit.

3. Ad magnam deinde, ut in ea regione, urbem[6] pervenit, non muro solum, sed etiam palude munitam. Ceterum barbari vehiculis inter se junctis dimicaturi occurrerunt: tela aliis hastae, aliis secures erant; transiliebantque in vehicula strenuo saltu, cum succurrere laborantibus suis vellent. Ac

[1] Our author afterwards (chapter 13) calls them Bucephala and Nicaea.

[2] See note vii. 41, *ad fin.*

[3] *Corpus suum* for *se.* See Zumpt, § 678, *ad fin.*

[4] We know of no river called Porus. Arrian, however, mentions the conquest of another king of that name (so that perhaps in this part of India Porus was a title expressive of the highest dignity, just as in that previously traversed Taxiles was). The river which Alexander crossed before he came to the Hyarotis was the Acesines. It is possible that the text is corrupt here.

[5] Now Ravee, still with an approach to the ancient name Iraeoti.

[6] According to Arrian it was Sangala, the chief town of the Cathaei.

primo insolitum genus pugna acedonas terruit, cum eminus vulnerarentur: deinde spreto tam incondito auxilio, ab utroque latere vehiculis circumfusi repugnantes fodere coeperunt. Et vincula, quis conserta erant, jussit[1] incidi, quo facilius singula circumvenirentur. Itaque, VIII milibus suorum amissis, in oppidum refugerunt. Postero die scalis undique admotis muri occupantur; paucis pernicitas saluti fuit. Qui, cognito urbis excidio, paludem transnavere, in vicina oppida ingentem intulere terrorem, invictum exercitum, et deorum profecto, advenisse memorantes.

4. Alexander, ad vastandam eam regionem Perdicca cum expedita manu misso, partem copiarum Eumeni[2] tradidit, ut is quoque barbaros ad deditionem compelleret: ipse ceteros ad urbem validam, in quam aliarum quoque confugerant incolae, duxit. Oppidani, missis qui regem deprecarentur, nihilominus bellum parabant. Quippe orta seditio in diversa consilia diduxerat vulgum: alii omnia deditione potiora, quidam nullam opem in ipsis esse ducebant. Sed dum nihil in commune consulitur,[3] qui deditioni imminebant,[4] apertis portis, hostem recipiunt. Alexander, quamquam belli auctoribus jure poterat irasci, tamen omnibus venia data, et obsidibus acceptis, ad proximam deinde urbem castra movit. Obsides ducebantur ante agmen. Quos cum ex muris agnovissent, utpote gentis ejusdem, in colloquium convocaverunt. Illi, clementiam regis simulque vim commemorando, ad deditionem eos compulere: ceterasque urbes simili modo domitas in fidem accepit.

5. Hinc in regnum Sopithis[5] perventum est. Gens, ut barbari credunt, sapientia excellet, bonisque moribus regitur. Genitos liberos non parentum arbitrio tollunt aluntque,[6] sed

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[1] 'He ordered;' namely, Alexander, the main subject of the whole narrative.

[2] Alexander's principal secretary (ἀρχιγραμματεύς), a man of great and varied abilities, who, after the king's death, played a conspicuous part in public affairs. His life has been written by Plutarch and Cornelius Nepos. In viii. 39, we find another of the king's secretaries actively employed as a military officer.

[3] 'No resolution is come to in common,' or 'no common course of action is determined upon.'

[4] 'Those who were meditating or desirous of a surrender;' for *imminere alicui rei* is used in the metaphorical sense of 'to purpose a thing.'

[5] He was called in the Greek official documents Σωπείθης—a name which indicates that the question, 'Which course is the safest?' was the ruling principle in his government. *Excellet* is a rare form for *excellit*. See *Gram.* § 159.

[6] This in Greece and Rome was the undisputed right of the father. *Tollere*, 'to lift up from the ground:' a new-born infant was laid down

eorum, quibus spectandi infantium habitum cura mandata est. Si quos insignes[1] aut aliqua parte membrorum inutiles notaverunt, necari jubent. Nuptiis coëunt non genere ac nobilitate conjunctis, sed electa corporum specie,[2] quia eadem aestimatur in liberis. Hujus gentis oppidum, cui Alexander admoverat copias, ab ipso Sopithe obtinebatur. Clausae erant portae, sed nulli in muris turribusque se armati ostendebant, dubitabantque Macedones, deseruissent urbem incolae, an fraude se occulerent; cum, subito patefacta porta, rex Indus cum duobus adultis filiis occurrit, multum inter omnes barbaros eminens corporis specie. Vestis erat auro purpuraque distincta, quae etiam crura velabat; aureis soleis inseruerat gemmas; lacerti quoque et brachia[3] margaritis ornata erant. Pendebant ex auribus insignes candore et magnitudine lapilli.[4] Baculum aureum berylli distinguebant: quo tradito precatus, ut sospes acciperet, se liberosque et gentem suam dedidit.

6. Nobiles ad venandum canes in ea regione sunt: latratu abstinere dicuntur, cum viderunt feram, leonibus maxime infesti. Horum vim ut ostenderet Alexandro, in conseptu[5] leonem eximiae magnitudinis jussit emitti, et IV omnino admoveri canes, qui celeriter feram occupaverunt.[6] Tum ex his, qui assueverant talibus ministeriis, unus[7] canis leoni cum aliis inhaerentis crus avellere, et, quia non sequebatur, ferro amputare coepit: ne sic quidem pertinacia victa, rursus aliam partem secare institit,[8] et inde non segnius inhaerentem ferro subinde caedebat. Ille in vulnere ferae dentes moribundus quoque infixerat: tantam in illis animalibus ad venandum cupiditatem ingenerasse naturam memoriae proditum est. Equidem plura transcribo, quam credo: nam nec affirmare sustineo, de quibus dubito, nec subducere,[9]

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at the feet of its father, and if he lifted it, and pressed it to his bosom, this was a symbolical promise that he would take care of it.

[1] *Insignis*, 'one who excites remark;' frequently in a bad sense, as here, 'offensive.'

[2] 'They marry not according to birth and rank, but to physical beauty chosen out:' *genus ac nobilitas* a ἓν διὰ δυοῖν, equivalent to *generis nobilitas*. See Zumpt, § 741.

[3] See note viii. 31.

[4] 'Precious stones.'

[5] 'In an enclosure' or 'park:' usually *conseptum*, *i*, but many of such substantives as were originally participles have a secondary form in *us*, *ūs*. See *Gram.* § 71, note 1, and Zumpt, § 98.

[6] 'Seized the wild beast.'

[7] 'One of the servants began to tear away the leg of one of the dogs, which still clung fast to the lion with the others.'

[8] 'He continued to cut another part.'

[9] 'To leave unmentioned, to be silent about.'

quae accepi. Relicto igitur Sopithe in suo regno, ad fluvium Hypasin[1] processit, Hephaestione, qui diversam regionem subegerat, conjuncto. Phegeus erat gentis proximae rex: qui, popularibus suis colere agros, ut assueverant, jussis, Alexandro cum donis occurrit, nihil quod imperaret detrectans.

7. Biduum apud eum substitit rex: tertio die amnem superare decreverat, transitu difficilem non spatio solum aquarum, sed etiam saxis impeditum. Percontatus igitur Phegea, quae noscenda erant, XI dierum ultra flumen per vastas solitudines iter esse cognoscit; excipere deinde Gangen, maximum totius Indiae fluminum: ulteriorem ripam colere gentes Gangaridas et Prasios, eorumque regem esse Aggrammem, XX milibus equitum ducentisque peditum obsidentem vias. Ad hoc[2] quadrigarum duo milia trahere, et praecipuum terrorem elephantos, quos trium milium numerum explere dicebat. Incredibilia regi omnia videbantur. Igitur Porum (nam cum eo erat) percontatur, an vera essent, quae dicerentur? Ille, vires quidem gentis et regni haud falso jactari, affirmat; ceterum qui regnaret non modo ignobilem esse, sed etiam ultimae sortis; quippe patrem ejus tonsorem, vix diurno quaestu propulsantem famen, propter habitum haud indecorum cordi fuisse reginae. Ab ea in propiorem ejus, qui tum regnasset, amicitiae locum admotum, interfecto eo per insidias, sub specie tutelae liberum ejus invasisse regnum, necatisque pueris hunc, qui nunc regnat,[3] generasse invisum vilemque popularibus, magis paternae fortunae, quam suae, memorem. Affirmatio Pori multiplicem animo regis injecerat curam. Hostem beluasque spernebat, situm locorum et vim fluminum extimescebat; relegatos in ultimum paene rerum humanarum persequi terminum et eruere arduum videbatur.[4] Rursus avaritia gloriae[5] et insatiabilis cupido famae nihil invium, nihil remotum videri sinebat. Et interdum dubitabat, an Macedones, tot emensi spatia terrarum, in acie et in castris senes facti, per objecta flumina, per tot naturae obstantes difficultates secuturi essent: abundantes onustusque praeda magis parta frui velle, quam acquirenda fatigari.[6] Non idem sibi et militibus animi esse:[7] se totius orbis imperium mente

[1] By other writers called Hyphasis and Hypanis.
[2] 'Moreover.'
[3] In this clause the author slips from the indirect into the direct speech: it should be *qui tum regnaret*.
[4] 'It seemed a difficult task to pursue and bring to light men exiled almost to the furthest boundary of the world.'
[5] A strong expression: 'the burning thirst for glory.'
[6] 'Than to weary themselves with the acquisition of new booty.'
[7] 'That he had not the same views as the soldiers.'

complexum, adhuc in operum suorum primordio stare: militem, labore defatigatum, proximum quemque fructum[1] finito tandem periculo expetere.

8. Vicit ergo cupido rationem, et ad contionem vocatis militibus, ad hunc maxime modum disseruit: Non ignoro, milites, multa, quae terrere vos possent,[2] ab incolis Indiae per hos dies de industria esse jactata: sed non est improvisa vobis mentientium vanitas.[3] Sic Ciliciae fauces, sic Mesopotamiae campos, Tigrim et Euphraten, quorum alterum vado transivimus, alterum ponte, terribilem fecerant Persae. Nunquam ad liquidum fama perducitur: omnia, illa tradente, majora sunt vero. Nostra quoque gloria, cum sit ex solido,[4] plus tamen habet nominis, quam operis. Modo quis beluas offerentes moenium speciem, quis Hydaspen amnem, quis cetera auditu majora, quam vero, sustinere posse credebat? Olim hercule fugissemus ex Asia, si nos fabulae debellare potuissent. Creditisne elephantorum greges majores esse, quam usquam armentorum sunt? cum et rarum sit animal, nec facile capiatur, multoque difficilius mitigetur. Atqui eadem vanitas copias peditum equitumque numeravit. Nam flumen, quo latius fusum est, hoc placidius stagnat: quippe angustis ripis coercita, et in angustiorem alveum elisa, torrentes aquas invehunt;[5] contra spatio alvei segnior cursus es. Praeterea in ripa omne periculum est, ubi applicantes navigia hostis expectat. Ita quantumcunque flumen intervenit, idem futurum discrimen est evadentium in terram.

9. Sed omnia ista vera esse fingamus. Utrumne[6] vos magnitudo beluarum, an multitudo hostium terret? Quod pertinet ad elephantos, praesens habemus exemplum: in suos vehementius, quam in nos incurrerunt, tam vasta corpora securibus facibusque mutilata sunt. Quid autem interest, totidem sint, quot Porus habuit, an tria milia? cum uno aut altero vulneratis ceteros in fugam declinari[7] videa-

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[1] 'The nearest advantage, whatever it may be;' the nearest, as the most desirable.

[2] It might also have been *possint;* but see Zumpt, § 515.

[3] 'Untrustworthiness.'

[4] 'Although it rests on a firm foundation.'

[5] 'Rivers which are restrained within narrow banks, and forced into a channel narrower than they naturally require, bear along furious (or 'impetuous') waters.'

[6] As to the interrogative particles, see *Gram.* § 197, 10, note 1.

[7] *Declino* is sometimes used transitively, 'I turn away' something (compare ix. 16, *prope fin.*), and consequently the passive can be used, as here, *declinor*, 'I am turned away;' but it is commonly treated as an intransitive verb, 'I turn away' myself. *Declinare* in our text would therefore have been more in accordance with or-

mus. Deinde paucos quoque incommode regunt: congregata vero tot milia ipsa se elidunt, ubi nec stare, nec fugere potuerint inhabiles vastorum corporum moles.[1] Equidem sic animalia ista contempsi, ut cum haberem, ipse non opposuerim, satis gnarus, plus suis, quam hostibus periculi inferre. At enim[2] equitum peditumque multitudo vos commovet! Cum paucis enim[3] pugnare soliti estis, et nunc primum inconditam sustinebitis turbam. Testis adversus multitudinem invicti Macedonum roboris Granicus amnis, et Cilicia inundata cruore Persarum, et Arbela, cujus campi devictorum a nobis ossibus strati sunt. Sero hostium legiones numerare coepistis, postquam solitudinem in Asia vincendo fecistis. Cum per Hellespontum navigaremus, de paucitate nostra cogitandum fuit:[4] nunc nos Scythae sequuntur, Bactriana auxilia praesto sunt, Dahae Sogdianique inter nos militant.

10. Nec tamen illi turbae confido. Vestras manus intueor, vestram virtutem rerum, quas gesturus sum, vadem praedemque habeo.[5] Quamdiu vobiscum in acie stabo, nec mei[6] nec hostium exercitus numero: vos modo animos mihi plenos alacritatis ac fiduciae adhibete. Non in limine operum laborumque nostrorum, sed in exitu stamus: pervenimus ad solis ortum et Oceanum, nisi obstat ignavia: inde victores, perdomito fine terrarum, revertemur in patriam. Nolite, quod pigri agricolae faciunt, maturos fructus per inertiam amittere e manibus. Majora sunt periculis praemia: dives eadem[7] et imbellis est regio. Itaque non tam ad gloriam vos duco, quam ad praedam. Digni estis, qui opes, quas illud mare litoribus invehit, referatis in patriam, digni, qui nihil inexpertum, nihil metu omissum relinquatis. Per vos gloriamque[8] vestram, qua humanum fastigium exceditis,

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dinary practice than *declinari*. See *Gram.* § 139, note 1, and Zumpt, § 145.

[1] The future perfect *potuerint* properly requires another future, *elident*.

[2] As to *at enim*, see Zumpt, § 349.

[3] 'You have no doubt been accustomed to fight with few;' an ironical sentence, for the opposite is meant.

[4] 'We ought to have thought upon our small numbers.'

[5] 'I have your valour as my surety:' *vadem praedemque* is a rhetorical pleonasm. See Zumpt, § 742, *ad fin.* *Vas* is a bail in criminal trials, *praes* a surety in civil cases.

[6] The genitive of *ego* is used instead of the adjective *meus*, only because it is opposed to *hostium*, and it is rarely employed even in such a case, for *meos* would have been the regular form here.

[7] 'At once.'

[8] This *que*, though found in all the manuscripts, should be struck out. The position of the words has led some early transcriber to believe that the *vos* is governed by *per*, as well as the *gloriam*, and

perque et mea in vos et in me vestra merita, quibus invicti contendimus, oro quaesoque, ne humanarum rerum terminos adeuntem alumnum commilitonemque vestrum, ne dicam regem, deseratis. Cetera vobis imperavi; hoc unum debiturus sum.[1] Et is vos rogo, qui nihil unquam vobis praecepi, quin primus me periculis obtulerim,[2] qui saepe aciem clipeo meo texi, ne infregeritis in manibus meis palmam, qua Herculem Liberumque Patrem, si invidia abfuerit, aequabo. Date hoc precibus meis, et tandem obstinatum silentium rumpite. Ubi est ille clamor, alacritatis vestrae index? ubi ille meorum Macedonum vultus? Non agnosco vos milites, nec agnosci videor a vobis. Surdas jamdudum aures pulso: aversos animos et infractos excitare conor.

11. Cumque illi in terram demissis capitibus tacere perseverarent, Nescio quid, inquit, in vos imprudens deliqui, quod me ne intueri quidem vultis. In solitudine mihi videor esse. Nemo respondet, nemo saltem negat. Quos alloquor? quid autem postulo? Vestram gloriam et magnitudinem vindicamus.[3] Ubi sunt illi, quorum certamen paulo ante vidi contendentium, qui potissimum vulnerati regis corpus exciperent?[4] desertus, destitutus sum, hostibus deditus. Sed solus quoque ire perseverabo. Objicite me fluminibus et beluis et illis gentibus, quarum nomina horretis. Inveniam, qui desertum a vobis sequantur:[5] Scythae Bactrianique erunt mecum, hostes paulo ante, nunc milites nostri. Mori praestat, quam precario[6] imperatorem esse. Ite reduces domos; ite deserto rege ovantes. Ego hic a vobis desperatae victoriae aut honestae morti locum inveniam. Ne sic quidem ulli militum vox exprimi potuit. Expectabant, ut duces principesque ad regem perferrent, vulneribus et continuo labore militiae fatigatos non detrectare munia,[7] sed sustinere non posse. Ceterum illi metu attoniti in terram ora defixerant. Igitur primo fremitus[8] sua sponte, deinde gemitus quoque

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consequently that a *copula* is necessary; but the *vos* is in reality governed by *oro quaesoque*, and the construction of the clause is therefore, *Oro quaesoque vos per vestram gloriam*. See Zumpt, § 794.

[1] 'For this one thing I shall owe you thanks,' since you will be doing me a favour.

[2] 'Without being the first to expose myself to the dangers.' See *Gram.* § 352, note 4.

[3] 'We (that is, I and those like-minded with me) resolve to effect.'

[4] The story is to be found in vii. 25.

[5] For this subjunctive, see *Gram.* § 360, 4.

[6] An adverb, 'by means of intreaties.'

[7] 'Did not refuse to continue their service.'

[8] *Fremitus* is 'a confused talking,' when many speak at once,

oritur; paulatimque liberius dolor erigi[1] coepit, manantibus lacrimis, adeo ut rex, ira in misericordiam versa, ne ipse quidem quamquam cuperet, temperare oculis[2] potuerit.

12. Tandem universa contione effusius flente, Coenus ausus est cunctantibus ceteris, propius tribunal accedere, significans se loqui velle. Quem ut videre milites detrahentem[3] galeam capiti (ita enim regem alioqui mos est), hortari coeperunt, ut causam exercitus ageret. Tum Coenus, Dii prohibeant, inquit, a nobis impias mentes; et profecto prohibent. Idem animus est tuis, qui fuit semper ire quo jusseris, pugnare, periclitari, sanguine nostro commendare posteritati tuum nomen. Proinde si perseveras, inermes quoque et nudi et exsangues, utcunque tibi cordi est, sequimur, vel antecedimus.[4] Sed si audire vis non fictas tuorum militum voces, verum necessitate ultima expressas, praebe, quaeso, propitias aures imperium atque auspicium tuum constantissime secutis, et quocunque pergis secuturis. Vicisti, rex, magnitudine rerum non hostes modo, sed etiam milites.[5] Quicquid mortalitas capere poterat, implevimus. Emensis maria terrasque melius nobis, quam incolis, omnia nota sunt. Paene in ultimo mundi fine consistimus.[6] In alium orbem paras ire, et Indiam quaeris Indis quoque ignotam: inter feras serpentesque degentes eruere ex latebris et cubilibus suis expetis, ut plura, quam sol videt, victoria lustres. Digna prorsus cogitatio animo tuo, sed altior nostro. Virtus enim tua semper in incremento erit,[7] nostra vis jam in fine est. Intuere corpora exsanguia, tot perfossa vulneribus, tot cicatricibus putria.[8] Jam tela hebetia sunt: jam arma deficiunt. Vestem Persicam induimus, quia domestica subvehi non potest. In externum degeneravimus cultum. Quoto cuique[9] lorica est? quis equum habet? jube

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every one for himself; it by no means necessarily signifies an expression of displeasure.

[1] A natural metaphor: 'to be raised upright;' meaning here, 'to increase and become more manifest.'

[2] 'To have the command of his eyes;' that is, 'to restrain his tears.'

[3] As to the difference between *Quem videre detrahentem* and *Quem videre detrahere*, see Zumpt, § 636.

[4] 'Or go on before.' The *sequimur* is not sufficient for the speaker, but he adds *vel antecedimus* for emphasis. See Zumpt, § 336.

[5] A fine expression: 'thou hast conquered even thine own soldiers;' that is, 'exhausted their strength.'

[6] 'We halt.'

[7] We use exactly the same mode of expression: 'will always be on the increase.'

[8] A scar is, as it were, a putrifying part of the body, and, like a black spot on a fruit, a sign that corruption is beginning.

[9] 'How few are there among us all possessed of coats of mail?'

quaeri, quam multos servi ipsorum persecuti sint, quid cuique superit ex praeda. Omnium victores omnium inopes sumus. Nec luxuria laboramus, sed bello instrumenta belli consumpsimus. Hunc tu pulcherrimum exercitum nudum objicies beluis? quarum ut multitudinem augeant de industria barbari, magnum tamen esse numerum etiam ex mendacio intelligo. Quodsi adhuc penetrare in Indiam certum est, regio a Meridie minus vasta est, qua subacta licebit decurrere in illud mare, quod rebus humanis terminum voluit esse natura. Cur circuitu petis gloriam, quae ad manum posita est? hic quoque occurrit Oceanus. Nisi mavis errare, pervenimus, quo tua fortuna ducit.[1] Haec tecum, quam sine te cum his, loqui malui, non uti inirem circumstantis exercitus gratiam, sed ut vocem loquentium potius, quam gemitum murmurantium audires.

13. Ut finem orationi Coenus imposuit, clamor undique cum ploratu oritur, regem patrem, dominum, confusis appellantium vocibus. Jamque et alii duces, praecipueque seniores, quis ob aetatem et excusatio honestior erat, et auctoritas major, eadem precabantur. Ille nec castigare obstinatos, nec mitigare poterat iratos. Itaque inops consilii desiluit e tribunali, claudique regiam jussit, omnibus praeter assuetos adire prohibitis. Biduum irae datum est: tertio die processit, erigique XII aras ex quadrato saxo monumentum expeditionis suae, munimenta quoque castrorum jussit extendi, cubiliaque amplioris formae, quam pro corporum habitu, relinqui, ut speciem omnium augeret, posteritati fallax miraculum preparans. Hinc repetens quae emensus erat, ad flumen Acesinem locat castra. Ibi forte Coenus morbo extinctus est. Cujus morte ingemuit quidem rex, adjecit tamen, propter paucos dies longam orationem eum exorsum, tanquam solus Macedoniam visurus esset. Jam in aqua classis, quam aedificari[2] jusserat, stabat. Inter haec Memnon ex Thracia in supplementum equitum V milia, praeter eos ab Harpalo peditum septem milia adduxerat, armaque XXV milia auro et argento caelata pertulerat, quis distributis vetera cremari jussit. Mille navigiis aditurus Oceanum, discordesque et[3] vetera odia retractantes Porum et Taxilen, Indiae reges,

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[1] 'Unless you intend to commence further wanderings, we have already reached the point to which your fortune leads us;' namely, the Indian Ocean.

[2] Compare ix. 1. But in that passage the author spoke of the Hydaspes, and it was on the banks of that river too that the two cities had lately been founded. Alexander, therefore, probably returned to the Hydaspes, and embarked on that river. Perhaps, however, another fleet was being built at the same time on the Acesines.

[3] *Que—et* connects single words; never, however, in Cicero, and but rarely in Curtius. See Zumpt, § 338.

firmatae per affinitatem gratiae relinquit[1] in suis regnis, summo in aedificanda classe amborum studio usus. Oppida quoque duo condidit, quorum alterum Nicaeam appellavit, alterum Bucephalam, equi, quem amiserat, memoriae ac nomini dedicans urbem. Elephantis deinde et impedimentis terra sequi jussis, secundo amne defluxit, quadraginta ferme stadia singulis diebus procedens, ut opportunis locis exponi subinde copiae possent.

14. Perventum erat in regionem, in qua Hydaspes amnis Acesini committitur. Hinc decurrit in fines Siborum.[2] Hi de exercitu Herculis majores suos esse memorant: aegros relictos esse, cepisse sedem, quam ipsi obtinebant. Pelles ferarum pro veste, clavae tela erant;[3] multaque, etiam cum Graeci mores exolevissent, stirpis ostendebant vestigia. Hinc excensione facta, CC et L stadia excessit,[4] depopulatusque regionem, oppidum, caput ejus, corona cepit. XL peditum milia gens[5] in ripa fluminum opposuerat: quae amne superato in fugam compulit, inclusosque[6] moenibus expugnat. Puberes interfecti sunt, ceteri venierunt. Alteram deinde urbem expugnare adortus, magnaque vi defendentium pulsus, multos Macedonum amisit. Sed cum in obsidione perseverasset, oppidani, desperata salute, ignem subjecere tectis, se quoque ac liberos conjugesque incendio cremant. Quod cum ipsi augerent, hostes extinguerent, nova forma pugnae erat. Delebant incolae urbem; hostes defendebant: adeo etiam naturae jura bellum in contrarium mutat. Arx erat oppidi intacta, in qua praesidium dereliquit, ipse navigiis circumvectus arcem.

15. Quippe III flumina tota India praeter Gangem maxima munimento arcis applicant undas. A Septentrione Indus alluit, a Meridie Acesines Hydaspi confunditur.[7] Ceterum

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[1] 'He leaves them to their friendship, strengthened by affinity (relationship by marriage);' that is, 'he is forced to leave them to their renewed friendship, after strengthening it as far as possible by the bonds of affinity.'

[2] Perhaps a tribe devoted to the worship of the Indian god Sivas.

[3] 'Clubs were their offensive weapons.'

[4] He marched a considerable way into the country, diverging from his straight road along the river.

[5] The same tribe, namely, whose capital Alexander had taken. They were called, according to Diodorus, the Agallassians.

[6] It might have been *inclusa*, agreeing with *milia;* but see Zumpt, § 368.

[7] The statement that the Acesines and Hydaspes unite to the south of the city just mentioned on the Indus, is incorrect, for their confluence takes place long before they reach the Indus. According to other authors, the calamity which befell the fleet occurred at the

amnium coetus[1] maritimis similes fluctus movet; multoque ac turbido limo, quod aquarum concursu subinde turbatur, iter, qua meant navigia, in tenuem alveum cogitur.[2] Itaque cum crebri fluctus se inveherent, et navium hinc proras, hinc latera pulsarent, subducere[3] nautae vela coeperunt. Sed ministeria eorum hinc metu, hinc praerapida celeritate fluminum occupantur.[4] In oculis omnium duo majora navigia submersa sunt; leviora, cum et ipsa nequirent regi, in ripam tamen innoxia expulsa sunt. Ipse rex in rapidissimos vertices incidit: quibus intorta navis obliqua et gubernaculi impatiens agebatur. Jam vestem detraxerat corpori, projecturus semet in flumen, amicique, ut exciperent eum, haud procul nabant, apparebatque anceps periculum tam nataturi, quam navigare perseverantis. Ergo ingenti certamine concitant remos, quantaque vis humana esse poterat admota est, ut fluctus, qui se invehebant, everberarentur.[5] Findi crederes undas, et retro gurgites cedere. Quibus tandem navis crepta, non tamen ripae applicatur, sed in proximum vadum illiditur. Cum amni[6] bellum fuisse crederes. Ergo aris pro numero fluminum positis, sacrificioque facto, XXX stadia processit.

16. Inde ventum est in regionem Oxydracarum Mallorumque, quos alias bellare inter se solitos tunc periculi societas junxerat. Nonaginta milia juniorum peditum in armis erant, praeter hos equitum X milia, nongentaeque quadrigae. At Macedones, qui omni discrimine jam defunctos se esse crediderant, postquam integrum bellum cum ferocissimis Indiae gentibus superesse cognoverunt, improviso metu territi, rursus seditiosis vocibus regem increpare coeperunt:

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junction of the Hydaspes with the Acesines, and not at the point where the united rivers fall into the Indus. Accordingly, the territories of the Oxydracae and Malli must have been situated not further down on the Indus, but between the Acesines and the Hyarotis.

[1] 'Confluence.' We usually distinguish between *coctus*, 'the state of union,' and *coitus*, 'the act of entering upon the state of union.' Here, however, *coetus* has the latter signification.

[2] 'By the great quantity of mud which is turned up, and as the rivers rush furiously together, carried sometimes in this direction, sometimes in that, the navigable part of the stream is confined to a narrow channel.'

[3] 'To take in.'

[4] 'They are prevented from executing their particular duties partly by their own terror, partly by the impetuous rapidity of the rivers.' Thus *metu* gives a good sense, but the manuscripts read *coetu*.

[5] 'That the billows which came rushing on might be surmounted by a vigorous use of the oars.'

[6] Another form, not so common, for *amne*. See Zumpt, § 63, note.

Gangen amnem, et quae ultra essent, coactum transmittere,[1] non tamen finisse, sed mutasse bellum. Indomitis gentibus se objectos, ut sanguine suo aperirent ei Oceanum. Trahi extra sidera et solem,[2] cogique adire, quae mortalium oculis natura subduxerit. Novis identidem armis novos hostes existere.[3] Quos et omnes fundant fugentque, quod praemium ipsos manere? caliginem ac tenebras et perpetuam noctem profundo incubantem mari, repletum immanium beluarum gregibus fretum,[4] immobiles undas, in quibus emoriens natura defecerit. Rex non sua, sed militum sollicitudine anxius, contione advocata docet, imbelles esse, quos metuant. Nihil deinde praeter has gentes obstare, quominus terrarum spatia emensi ad finem simul mundi laborumque perveniant. Cessisse illis metuentibus Gangen et multitudinem nationum, quae ultra amnem essent: declinasse iter eo, ubi par gloria, minus periculum esset. Jam prospicere se Oceanum, jam perflare ad ipsos auram maris: ne inviderent sibi laudem,[5] quam peteret. Herculis et Liberi Patris terminos transituros, illos[6] regi suo, parvo impendio, immortalitatem famae daturos. Paterentur se ex India redire, non fugere.

17. Omnis multitudo, et maxime militaris, mobili impetu effertur.[7] Ita seditionis non remedia quam principia majora sunt.[8] Non alias tam alacer clamor ab exercitu est redditus, jubentium, duceret diis secundis, aequaretque gloria, quos aemularetur.[9] Laetus his acclamationibus ad hostes protinus castra movet. Validissimae Indorum gentes erant, et bellum impigre parabant; ducemque ex natione Oxydracarum

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[1] 'That Alexander had been forced to give up the Ganges,' &c.: *transmittere*, 'to allow to pass by;' that is, 'to give up;' equivalent to *omittere*.

[2] To the south of the equator the stars which adorn the sky are quite different from those in our hemisphere, and the sun has a different position. This truth is at the foundation of the exaggeration in the text.

[3] 'That always for new arms (that is, for new expeditions, for new countries into which they carried their arms) there arose new enemies.'

[4] 'The sea,' in so far as it is near the land, and separates one country from another.

[5] As to this construction, see *Gram.* § 370.

[6] 'That they (the Macedonians), if they passed the boundaries of Heracles and Father Dionysus, would, with little expense, confer upon their king an immortality of fame.'

[7] 'Is apt, under the influence of changeable feelings, to be led away from a course previously resolved upon.'

[8] 'The beginning of a mutiny is more important than its termination.' As to the form of the sentence in Latin, see Zumpt, § 725.

[9] For the construction of *aemulor*, see *Gram.* § 264, note 3.

spectatae virtutis elegerant, qui sub radicibus montis castra posuit, lateque ignes, ut speciem multitudinis augeret, ostendit, clamore quoque ac sui moris ululatu identidem acquiescentes, Macedonas frustra terrere conatus. Jam lux appetebat,[1] cum rex fiduciae ac spei plenus alacres milites arma capere, et exire in aciem jubet. Sed, haud traditur metune, an oborta seditione inter ipsos, subito profugerunt barbari; certe avios montes et impeditos occupaverunt: quorum agmen rex frustra persecutus, impedimenta cepit.

18. Perventum deinde est ad oppidum Oxydracarum, in quod plerique confugerant, haud majore fiducia moenium, quam armorum.[2] Jam admovebat[3] rex, cum vates monere eum coepit, ne committeret, aut certe differret obsidionem: vitae ejus periculum ostendi. Rex Demophontem (is namque[4] vates erat) intuens, Si quis, inquit, te arti tuae intentum et exta spectantem sic interpellet non dubitem,[5] quin incommodus ac molestus videri tibi possit. Et cum ille ita prorsus futurum respondisset, Censesne, inquit, tantas res, non pecudum fibras ante oculos habenti, ullum esse majus impedimentum, quam vatem superstitione captum? Nec diutius quam respondit moratus, admoveri jubet scalas, cunctantibusque ceteris evadit in murum. Angusta muri corona erat: non pinnae sicut alibi fastigium ejus distinxerant, sed perpetua lorica obducta transitum saepserat.[6] Itaque rex haerebat magis, quam stabat in margine, clipeo undique incidentia tela propulsans; nam ubique eminus ex turribus petebatur. Nec subire milites poterant, quia superne vi telorum obruebantur. Tandem magnitudinem periculi pudor vicit: quippe cernebant, cunctatione sua dedi hostibus regem. Sed festinando morabantur auxilia. Nam dum pro se quisque certat evadere, oneravere scalas; quis non sufficientibus de-

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[1] It is a Latin idiom to say *tempus, dies, nox, lux appetit*, 'approaches.'

[2] 'Without having greater confidence in the walls than in their arms.'

[3] *Exercitum* being omitted, *admovere* takes the intransitive meaning of 'to advance.' *Movere* is used in the same way, v. 35.

[4] This conjunction is by Cicero and the earlier Latin writers always placed first; by Curtius more frequently second.

[5] As to the use of the present subjunctive both in the *protasis* and *apodosis*, see *Gram.* § 344.

[6] 'The crown of the wall (that is, the standing-room on it) was narrow; for separate battlements did not, as in other cases, project from the top of it (so as to interrupt, *distinguere*, the otherwise plain and unvaried surface), but a continuous breastwork erected in front had thrown a considerable obstacle in the way of any one who attempted to climb over it.'

voluti unicam spem regis fefellerunt.[1] Stabat enim in conspectu tanti exercitus, velut in solitudine destitutus.

19. Jamque laevam, qua clipeum ad ictus circumferebat, lassaverat,[2] clamantibus amicis, ut ad ipsos desiliret, stabantque excepturi; cum ille rem ausus est incredibilem atque inauditam, multoque magis ad famam temeritatis, quam gloriae, insignem. Namque in urbem hostium plenam praecipiti saltu seme ipse immisit, cum vix sperare posset, dimicantem certe et non inultum[3] esse moriturum: quippe antequam assurgeret, opprimi poterat et capi vivus. Sed forte ita libraverat corpus,[4] ut se pedibus exciperet. Itaque stans init pugnam; et ne circumiri posset, fortuna providerat. Vetusta arbor, haud procul muro, ramos multa fronde vestitos, velut de industria regem protegentes, objecerat; hujus spatioso stipiti corpus, ne circumiri posset, applicuit, clipeo tela, quae ex adverso ingerebantur, excipiens. Nam cum unum procul tot manus peterent, nemo tamen audebat propius accedere; missilia ramis plura, quam clipeo incidebant. Pugnabat pro rege primum celebrati nominis fama, deinde desperatio,[5] magnum ad honeste moriendum incitamentum. Sed cum subinde hostis afflueret, jam ingentem vim telorum exceperat clipeo, jam galeam saxa perfregerant, jam continuo labore gravia genua succiderant.[6] Itaque contemptim et incaute, qui proximi steterant, incurrerunt: e quibus duos gladio ita excepit, ut ante ipsum exanimes procumberent. Nec cuiquam deinde propius incessendi eum animus fuit: procul jacula sagittasque mittebant.

20. Ille ad omnes ictus expositus, aegre jam exceptum poplitibus corpus tuebatur;[7] donec Indus duorum cubitorum sagittam (namque Indis, ut antea diximus, hujus magnitudinis sagittae erant) ita excussit, ut per thoracem paulum super latus dextrum infigeret. Quo vulnere afflictus, magna vi

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[1] 'And as these did not hold out under the weight (but broke), they (the soldiers) were thrown down, and thus deceived the king's only hope.'

[2] 'He had fatigued his left hand;' a poetical mode of expression for *laeva ejus lassa erat.*

[3] 'Not unrevenged;' that is, 'not without inflicting some wounds upon his enemies.'

[4] 'He had balanced his body in such a manner, when he sprang down.'

[5] 'His despair fought for him;' that is, 'despairing of safety, he fought with the greater valour and fierceness.'

[6] 'His knees had sunk under him.'

[7] 'After sinking upon his knees, he defended himself with difficulty.' *Genu* is the knee-pan, *poples* the hollow of the knee, the sinews by which the leg is moved.

sanguinis imicante,[1] remisit arma moribundo similis, adeoque resolutus, ut ne ad vellendum quidem telum sufficeret dextera.[2] Itaque ad expoliandum corpus, qui vulneraverat alacer gaudio accurrit. Quem ut injicere corpori suo manus sensit, credo, ultimi dedecoris indignitate commotus, linquentem revocavit animum,[3] et nudum[4] hostis latus subjecto mucrone hausit.[5] Jacebant circa regem tria corpora, procul stupentibus ceteris: ille ut, antequam ultimus spiritus deficeret, dimicans jam extingueretur, clipeo se allevare conatus est, et postquam ad connitendum nihil supererat virium, dextera impendentes ramos complexus temptabat assurgere. Sed ne sic quidem potens corporis, rursus in genua procumbit, manu provocans hostes, si quis congredi auderet.

21. Tandem Peucestes[6] per aliam oppidi partem, deturbatis propugnatoribus, muri vestigia persequens[7] regi supervenit. Quo conspecto Alexander, jam non vitae suae, sed mortis solatium supervenisse ratus, clipeo fatigatum corpus excepit. Subit inde Timaeus, et paulo post Leonnatus, huic Aristonus supervenit. Indi quoque, cum intra moenia regem esse comperissent, omissis ceteris, illuc concurrerunt, urgebantque protegentes. Ex quibus Timaeus, multis adverso corpore vulneribus acceptis, egregiaque edita pugna, cecidit; Peucestes quoque tribus jaculis confossus non se tamen scuto, sed regem tuebatur; Leonnatus, dum avide ruentes barbaros summovet, cervice graviter icta semianimis procubuit ante regis pedes. Jam et Peucestes vulneribus fatigatus summiserat clipeum:[8] in Aristono spes ultima haerebat. Hic quoque graviter saucius tantam vim hostium ultra[9] sustinere non poterat. Inter haec ad Macedonas regem cecidisse fama perlata est. Terruisset alios, quod illos incitavit. Namque periculi omnis immemores dolabris perfregere murum, et qua moliti erant aditum, irrupere in urbem, Indosque plures fugientes, quam congredi ausos, ceciderunt. Non senibus, non feminis, non infantibus parcitur: quisquis occurrerat,

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1 'Gushing out.'

2 'His right hand had not power even to bend the bow slightly,' far less to draw it to its full extent (*evellere*).

3 'He recalled the life which was already departing.'

4 'Naked;' that is, unprotected by a coat-of-mail.

5 'Pierced deep into;' always used of a very vigorous thrust.

6 Peucestes, Leonnatus, and Aristonus, all belonged to the seven σωματοφύλακες of the king.

7 'Following the foot of the wall;' that is, 'going along the bottom of it.'

8 'Had let his shield sink.' In order to protect the king, he had to hold it high.

9 'Longer, further.'

ab illo[1] vulneratum regem esse credebant. Tandemque internecione hostium justae irae parentatum est.[2] Ptolemaeum, qui postea regnavit, huic pugnae affuisse, auctor est[3] Clitarchus et Timagenes. Sed ipse, scilicet gloriae suae non refragatus[4] afuisse se, missum in expeditionem, memoriae tradidit. Tanta componentium vetusta rerum monumenta vel securitas, vel par huic vitium, credulitas fuit.[5]

22. Rege in tabernaculum relato, medici lignum sagittae corpori infixum, ita ne[6] spiculum moveretur, abscidunt. Corpore deinde nudato, animadvertunt hamos inesse telo, nec aliter id sine pernicie corporis extrahi posse, quam ut secando vulnus augerent. Ceterum ne secantes profluvium sanguinis occuparet, verebantur;[7] quippe ingens telum adactum erat, et penetrasse in viscera videbatur. Critobulus, inter medicos artis eximiae, sed in tanto periculo territus, manus admovere metuebat, ne in ipsius caput parum prosperae curationis recideret eventus. Lacrimantem eum ac metuentem et sollicitudine propemodum exsanguem rex conspexerat. Quid, inquit, quodve tempus expectas, et non quamprimum hoc dolore me saltem moriturum liberas?[8] An times, ne reus sis cum insanabile vulnus acceperim?

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[1] As soon as a rhetorical accent falls on the pronoun, *is* becomes *ille*. See Zumpt, § 702.

[2] See note, vii. 9.

[3] For the construction, see *Gram.* § 239, *b.* Clitarchus, a native of Aeolis in Asia Minor, wrote a history of the exploits of Alexander, his contemporary, which was the principal source whence Curtius drew his materials. Timagenes, a learned Greek who lived at Rome under Julius Caesar, and in the beginning of the reign of Augustus, wrote a history of those royal dynasties which sprung from Alexander's generals.

[4] 'And he was certainly not a man who fought against his own glory.'

[5] *Rerum monumenta* are 'historical works:' 'those who composed ancient historical works;' that is, 'those who in former times wrote history.' Curtius says that these wrote either carelessly or credulously, we cannot tell which. Every age boasts of its accuracy in historical writing, because it always finds some statement to correct in the writers of former times.

[6] Had this been a mere statement of the fact, it would have been *ita ut spiculum non moveretur*. Here, however, strangely enough, intention is implied, and the expression *ita ne spiculum moveretur* is contracted for *ita ut curarent ne spiculum moveretur.*

[7] 'They were afraid that a gush of blood would come upon them whilst they were engaged in the operation (and prevent them from completing it).'

[8] 'What are you waiting for?' 'Why do you not free me as soon as possible from this pain, being at least, as I am, in the expectation of death very soon.'

At Critobulus tandem vel finito, vel dissimulato metu, hortari eum coepit, ut se continendum praeberet,[1] dum spiculum evelleret: etiam levem corporis motum noxium fore. Rex cum affirmasset, nihil opus esse iis, qui semet continerent, sicut praeceptum erat, sine motu praebuit corpus. Igitur patefacto latius vulnere, et spiculo evolso, ingens vis sanguinis manare coepit, linquique animo rex, et caligine oculis offusa, veluti moribundus extendi.[2] Cumque profluvium medicamentis frustra inhiberent, clamor simul atque ploratus amicorum oritur, regem expirasse credentium. Tandem constitit sanguis, paulatimque animum recepit, et circumstantes coepit agnoscere. Toto eo die ac nocte, quae secuta est, armatus exercitus regiam obsedit, confessus omnes unius spiritu vivere. Nec prius recesserunt, quam compertum est, somno paulisper acquiescere. Hinc certiorem spem salutis ejus in castra rettulerunt.

23. Rex septem diebus curato vulnere, necdum obducta cicatrice[3] cum audisset, convaluisse apud barbaros famam mortis suae, duobus navigiis junctis, statui in medium undique conspicuum tabernaculum jussit,[4] ex quo se ostenderet perisse credentibus. Conspectusque ab incolis spem hostium falso nuntio conceptam inhibuit. Secundo deinde amne defluxit,[5] aliquantum intervalli a cetera classe praecipiens, ne quies corpori invalido adhuc necessaria pulsu remorum impediretur. Quarto, postquam navigare coeperat, die pervenit in regionem desertam quidem ab incolis, sed frumento et pecoribus abundantem. Placuit is locus et ad suam, et ad militum requiem. Mos erat principibus amicorum et custodibus corporis,[6] excubare ante praetorium, quotiens adversa regi valetudo incidisset. Hoc tum quoque more servato, universi cubiculum ejus intrant. Ille sollicitus, ne quid novi afferrent, quia simul venerant, percontatur, num hostium recens nuntiaretur adventus.

24. At Craterus, cui mandatum erat, ut amicorum preces

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[1] 'To allow himself to be held fast.'

[2] 'Darkness spread over his eyes, and he stretched himself out like a dying man.' *Extendi* sometimes has a purely passive signification, sometimes a reflective for *se extendere*.

[3] 'Before the wound was cicatrized.'

[4] 'He ordered a tent visible from all sides to be erected in the middle.' *In medio* would have been more common.

[5] 'He sailed down the river:' *ventus secundus*, 'a favourable wind;' *amne secundo*, 'down the river;' that is, *secundus* being for *sequundus*, from *sequi*, 'with the river, as it were, following the vessel.' The opposite to *secundus* is *adversus*.

[6] The *amici* are the leaders of the Macedonian infantry (πεζέταιροι), the *custodes corporis* the σωματοφύλακες.

perferret ad eum, Credisne, inquit, adventu magis hostium, ut jam in vallo consisterent, sollicitos esse, quam cura salutis tuae, ut nunc est, tibi vilis?[1] Quantalibet vis omnium gentium conspiret in nos,[2] impleat armis virisque totum orbem, classibus maria consternat, inusitatas beluas inducat: tu nos praestabis invictos.[3] Sed quis deorum hoc Macedoniae columen ac sidus diuturnum fore polliceri potest, cum tam avide manifestis periculis offeras corpus, oblitus tot civium animas trahere te in casum?[4] Quis enim tibi superstes aut optat esse, aut potest? Eo pervenimus, auspicium atque imperium secuti tuum, unde nisi te reduce[5] nulli ad penates suos iter est. Quodsi[6] adhuc de Persidis regno cum Dareo dimicares, etsi nemo vellet, tamen ne admirari quidem posset, tam promptae esse te ad omne discrimen audaciae: nam ubi paria sunt periculum ac praemium, et secundis rebus amplior fructus est, et adversis solatium majus: tuo vero capite ignobilem vicum emi, quis ferat, non tuorum modo militum, sed ullius gentis barbarae civis, qui tuam magnitudinem novit? Horret animus cogitatione rei, quam paulo ante vidimus. Eloqui timeo, invicti corporis spolia inertissimas manus fuisse infecturas,[7] nisi te interceptum misericors in nos fortuna servasset. Totidem proditores, totidem desertores sumus, quot te non potuimus persequi. Universos licet milites ignominia notes, nemo recusabit luere id, quod ne admitteret praestare non potuit.[8] Patere nos, quaeso, alio modo esse viles tibi. Quocunque jusseris, ibimus. Obscura pericula et ignobiles pugnas nobis deposcimus: temetipsum ad ea serva, quae magnitudinem tuam capiunt.[9] Cito gloria obsolescit in sordidis hostibus, nec quicquam indignius est, quam consumi eam, ubi non possit ostendi. Eadem fere Ptolemaeus, et similia his ceteri. Jamque con-

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1 Your life is of little value to you, *ut nunc est*, 'according to appearances.' See v. 18.

2 'However great a multitude of all nations may conspire against us,' &c. Had *quantacunque*, a relative, been used, we should have had *conspirabit* instead of *conspiret*.

3 'You will cause us to be still unconquered.'

4 'That you are giving up to chance (particularly to danger).'

5 'Unless you return.' See *Gram.* § 405, notes 2 and 3.

6 As to this conjunction, see Zumpt, § 807.

7 'The most cowardly hands would have polluted (by their touch).'

8 'Though you mark the whole army with ignominy, yet no one will refuse to be punished for that (namely, the desertion of the king) which he could not promise to admit (that is, for the avoidance of which he could not answer).'

9 'Which can receive (that is, which are sufficient for) your greatness of soul.'

fusis vocibus flentes eum orabant, ut tandem exsatiatae laudi modum faceret,[1] ac saluti suae, id est publicae, parceret.

25. Grata erat regi pietas amicorum. Itaque singulos familiarius amplexus considere jubet. Altiusque sermone repetito, Vobis quidem, inquit, o fidissimi piissimique[2] civium atque amicorum, grates ago habeoque, non solum eo nomine, quod hodie salutem meam vestrae praeponitis, sed quod a primordiis belli nullum erga me benivolentiae pignus atque indicium omisistis, adeo ut confitendum sit, nunquam mihi vitam meam fuisse tam caram, quam esse coepit, ut vobis diu frui possim. Ceterum non eadem est cogitatio eorum, qui pro me mori optant, et mea: qui quidem hanc benivolentiam vestram virtute meruisse me judicio.[3] Vos enim diuturnum fructum ex me, forsitan etiam perpetuum, percipere cupiatis: ego me metior non aetatis spatio, sed gloriae. Licuit paternis opibus contento intra Macedoniae terminos per otium corporis expectare obscuram et ignobilem senectutem: quamquam ne pigri quidem sibi fata disponunt, sed unicum bonum diuturnam vitam existimantes saepe acerba mors occupat:[4] verum ego, qui non annos meos, sed victorias numero, si munera fortunae bene computo, diu vixi. Orsus a Macedonia imperium Graeciae[5] teneo: Thraciam et Illyrios subegi; Triballis, Maedisque imperito; Asiam, qua Hellesponto, qua rubro mari subluitur,[6] possideo. Jamque haud procul absum fine mundi, quem egressus aliam naturam, alium orbem aperire mihi statui. Ex Asia in Europae terminos momento unius horae transivi.[7] Victor utriusque regionis post nonum regni mei, post vigesimum atque octavum aetatis annum,[8] videorne vobis in excolenda gloria, cui me uni devovi, posse cessare?

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[1] 'Put a limit to his praise (that is, desire of praise), which was now gratified to the full.'

[2] As to this superlative, see *Gram.* § 99, 1, note.

[3] 'Who certainly consider myself to have merited your good-will by my valour.' This sentence opens up the way for his introduction of the declaration that he lives only for fame. As to *quidem*, see Zumpt, § 278.

[4] 'Death overtakes them (before they have attained the old age which they wish for).'

[5] 'Supreme rule over Greece.' This is what the Greeks call *ἡγεμονία*, the Latins frequently *principatus*.

[6] 'I possess Asia, where it is laved by the waters of the Hellespont and of the Indian Ocean.' *Alluitur* might have been used; but as the sea is on a lower level than the coast, *subluitur* is equally appropriate.

[7] Namely, by the rapid passage of the Jaxartes, which was mistaken for the Tanais, the boundary between Asia and Europe. See vii. 30.

[8] According to a more correct calculation, our author ought to have

26. Ego vero[1] non deero, et ubicunque pugnabo, in theatro terrarum orbis esse me credam. Dabo nobilitatem ignobilibus locis; aperiam cunctis gentibus terras, quas natura longe summoverat. In his operibus extingui mihi si fors ita feret, pulchrum est: ea stirpe sum genitus, ut multam[2] prius, quam longam vitam debeam optare. Obsecro vos, cogitate nos pervenisse in terras, quibus[3] feminae ob virtutem celeberrimum nomen est. Quas urbes Semiramis condidit? quas gentes redegit in potestatem? quanta opera molita est? Nondum feminam aequavimus gloria, et jam nos laudis satietas cepit? Dii faveant, majora adhuc restant. Sed ita nostra erunt quae nondum attigimus, si nihil parvum duxerimus, in quo magnae gloriae locus est. Vos modo me ab intestina fraude et domesticorum insidiis praestate securum;[4] belli Martisque discrimen impavidus subibo. Philippus in acie tutior, quam in theatro fuit: hostium manus saepe vitavit, suorum[5] effugere non valuit. Aliorum quoque regum exitus si reputaveritis, plures a suis, quam ab hoste interemptos numerabitis. Ceterum, quoniam olim rei agitatae in animo meo nunc promendae occasio oblata est, mihi maximus laboram atque operum meorum erit fructus, si Olympias mater immortalitati consecretur, quandocunque excesserit vita. Si licuerit, ipse praestabo hoc: si me praeceperit fatum, vos mandasse[6] mementote. Ac tum quidem amicos dimisit: ceterum per complures dies ibi stativa habuit.

27. Haec dum in India geruntur, Graeci milites nuper in colonias a rege deducti circa Bactra, orta inter ipsos seditione, defecerant, non tam Alexandro infensi, quam metu supplicii.[7]

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added about one year to each of his numbers. Alexander succeeded to the crown, at the death of his father, in the summer of 336 B. C.; we are now in the summer of 326 B. C.; consequently ten years had elapsed, and we should have had *annum decimum regni*. Again, he was born in September 356 B. C., and was, therefore, now nearly thirty years of age.

[1] *Vero* introduces his answer to the question which he himself had just proposed: 'No, I shall not be found wanting.'

[2] *Multa vita* is 'a life which contains much,' 'a life in which much is done,' 'a rich life.'

[3] For *in quibus:* 'in which the name of a woman is very illustrious, on account of her possessing the activity and energy worthy of a man (*virtus*).'

[4] 'Let it be your part to produce in me a feeling of security, &c. and then I shall.' This English supplement 'and then' is always omitted in Latin when an imperative is followed by a future as *apodosis*.

[5] 'But those (the hands) of his own subjects.' See Zumpt, §§ 767 and 781.

[6] Supply *me:* 'remember that I have committed this duty to you.'

[7] 'From fear of severe punishment' (not always, nay, not even usually, capital punishment).

Quippe occisis quibusdam popularium,[1] qui validiores erant arma spectare coeperunt, et Bactriana arce, quae casu negligentius asservata erat, occupata, barbaros quoque in societatem defectionis impulerant. Athenodorus erat princeps eorum, qui regis quoque nomen assumpserat, non tam imperii cupidine, quam in patriam revertendi cum his, qui auctoritatem ipsius sequebantur. Huic Bito quidam nationis ejusdem, sed ob aemulationem infestus, comparavit insidias, invitatumque ad epulas per Boxum quendam Macarianum[2] in convivio occidit. Postero die contione advocata Bito ultro insidiatum sibi Athenodorum plerisque persuaserat: sed aliis suspecta erat fraus Bitonis, et paulatim in plures coepit manare suspicio. Itaque Graeci milites arma capiunt, occisuri Bitonem, si daretur occasio: ceterum principes eorum iram multitudinis mitigaverunt. Praeter spem suam Bito praesenti periculo ereptus, paulo post insidiatus auctoribus salutis suae est: cujus dolo cognito, et ipsum comprehenderunt, et Boxum. Ceterum Boxum protinus placuit interfici, Bitonem etiam per cruciatum necari. Jamque corpori tormenta admovebantur, cum milites, incertum ob quam causam, lymphatis similes[3] ad arma discurrunt. Quorum fremitu exaudito, qui torquere Bitonem jussi erant, omisere, veriti, ne id facere tumultuantium vociferatione prohiberentur.[4] Ille, sicut nudatus erat, pervenit ad Graecos, et miserabilis facies supplicio destinati in diversum animos repente mutavit, dimittique eum jusserunt. Hoc modo poena bis liberatus, cum ceteris, qui colonias a rege attributas reliquerunt, revertit in patriam. Haec circa Bactra et Scytharum terminos gesta.

28. Interim regem duarum gentium, de quibus ante dictum est,[5] centum legati adeunt. Omnes curru vehebantur, eximia magnitudine corporum, decoro habitu; lineae vestes intexto auro purpuraque distinctae.[6] Ei se dedere ipsos, urbes agrosque, referebant, per tot aetates inviolatam libertatem illius primum fidei dicionique permissuros: deos sibi deditionis

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[1] 'Some of their countrymen (that is, Greeks).'

[2] A native of the Arcadian town of *Μακαρία*.

[3] 'Like madmen,' 'possessed persons.' See note iv. 46.

[4] 'They were afraid lest they should be prevented from completing their work by the outcry of the tumultuous soldiers;' that is, 'that it would have such an influence upon them, as to keep them back from finishing the execution.'

[5] Namely, the Oxydracae and Malli.

[6] 'Their clothes were of linen, the sameness of which was relieved by inwoven gold and purple.' Here we supply *erant:* the omission of a past tense of *esse* is not nearly so common as that of *est*, *sunt*, and *esse;* still it sometimes occurs in descriptions. Compare Zumpt, § 776.

auctores, non metum;[1] quippe intactis viribus jugum excipere. Rex, consilio habito, deditos in fidem accepit, stipendio quod Arachosiis utraque natio pensitabat,[2] imposito. Praeterea II milia et D equites imperat; et omnia obedienter a barbaris facta. Invitatis deinde ad epulas legatis gentium regulisque, exornari convivium jussit. Centum aurei lecti modicis intervallis positi erant; lectis circumdederat aulaea, purpura auroque fulgentia; quicquid aut apud Persas vetere luxu, aut apud Macedonas nova immutatione corruptum erat,[3] confusis utriusque gentis vitiis, in illo convivio ostendens.

29. Intererat epulis Dioxippus Atheniensis, pugil nobilis, et ob eximiam virtutem virium regi pernotus et gratus.[4] Invidi malignique increpabant per seria et ludum, saginati corporis sequi inutilem beluam:[5] cum ipsi proelium inirent, oleo madentem praeparare ventrem epulis.[6] Eadem igitur in convivio Horratas Macedo jam temulentus exprobrare ei coepit et postulare, ut, si vir esset, postero die secum ferro decerneret: regem tandem vel de sua temeritate, vel de illius ignavia judicaturum. Et a Dioxippo, contemptim militarem eludente ferociam,[7] accepta condicio est. Ac postero die rex, cum etiam acrius certamen exposcerent, quia deterrere non poterat,[8] destinata exequi passus est. Ingens hic militum, inter quos erant Graeci, qui Dioxippo studebant, convenerat multitudo. Macedo justa arma sumpserat, aereum clypeum, hastam, quam sarissam vocant, laeva tenens, dextera lanceam, gladioque cinctus, velut cum pluribus simul

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[1] 'The gods,' they said, 'had induced them to surrender, not fear.'

[2] 'Having imposed upon them a tribute which both tribes paid to the Arachosii;' that is, 'had to pay into the state treasury of the satrap of Arachosia.'

[3] 'Exhibiting at that banquet everything which had been corrupted among the Persians by old luxury, or among the Macedonians by the recent change of manners;' that is, 'everything which the old luxury of the Persians, or the recently vitiated tastes of the Macedonians, could devise.' *Corrumpi* is the standing term to express the decay of a simple, sober mode of life.

[4] 'A distinguished pugilist (in Greek πύκτης), and on account of the remarkable pre-eminence of his strength, well known to the king.' *Virtus* is sometimes any inherent excellence or eminence of a thing.

[5] 'That he followed (the army or the king) like a useless fattened animal;' literally, 'an animal of a fattened body.'

[6] Thus the practice which this athlete had, in common with all others of the class, of rubbing his body over with oil, was represented to be merely a means of exciting an appetite.

[7] 'Who turned off the arrogance of the soldiers with a contemptuous reply.'

[8] 'They (the Macedonians) demanded the fight only the more eagerly, because he (the Athenian) could not be intimidated.'

dimicaturus. Dioxippus oleo nitens et coronatus laeva puniceum amiculum,[1] dextra validum nodosumque stipitem praeferebat. Ea ipsa res omnium animos expectatione suspenderat:[2] quippe armato congredi nudum dementia, non temeritas videbatur. Igitur Macedo, haud dubius eminus interfici posse, lanceam emisit, quam Dioxippus cum exiguae corporis declinatione vitasset, antequam ille hastam transferret in dextram, assiluit, et stipite mediam eam fregit. Amisso utroque telo, Macedo gladium coeperat stringere: quem occupatum complexu, pedibus repente subductis, Dioxippus arietavit in terram,[3] ereptoque gladio, pedem super cervicem jacenti imposuit, stipitem intentans, elisurusque eo victum, ni prohibitus esset a rege. Tristis spectaculi eventus non Macedonibus modo, sed etiam Alexandro fuit, maxime quia barbari affuerant: quippe celebratam Macedonum fortitudinem ad ludibrium recidisse[4] verebatur. Hinc ad criminationem invidorum adapertae sunt aures regis. Et post paucos dies inter epulas aureum poculum ex composito subducitur,[5] ministrique, quasi amisissent, quod amoverant, regem adeunt. Saepe minus est constantiae in rubore,[6] quam in culpa. Conjectum oculorum, quibus ut fur destinabatur, Dioxippus ferre non potuit: et cum excessisset convivio, litteris conscriptis, quae regi redderentur, ferro se interemit. Graviter mortem ejus tulit rex, existimans indignationis esse, non poenitentiae testem, utique postquam falso insimulatum eum, nimium invidorum gaudium ostendit.[7]

30. Indorum legati dimissi domos, paucis post diebus cum donis revertuntur. Trecenti erant equites, mille triginta currus, quos quadrijugi equi ducebant, lineae vestis aliquantum, mille scuta Indica, et ferri candidi[8] talenta centum,

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[1] 'He bore upon his left shoulder (or left arm) a purple cloak.' *Praeferebat*, as governing *amiculum*, and as governing *stipitem*, has two different senses: *manu*, which we must supply to *laeva* and *dextra*, has in the former case the extended meaning of 'arm.'

[2] 'Had put the minds of all upon the stretch with expectation.'

[3] 'Dioxippus threw his arms round him before he could draw his sword (this is implied in *occupare*), and suddenly tripping him up, dashed him to the ground.'

[4] The accusative with the infinitive after a verb of fearing is rare. See Zumpt, § 534, *ad fin.*

[5] 'Is, according to a preconcerted arrangement, surreptitiously or secretly taken away.'

[6] 'Shame,' 'blushing on account of a fault.'

[7] The treachery, therefore, did not actually come to light; but the immoderate joy of the enemies of the pugilist showed that they had been persecuting him.

[8] Probably steel, on account of its gray, bluish colour.

leonesque rarae magnitudinis et tigres, utrumque animal ad mansuetudinem domitum, lacertarum quoque ingentium pelles, et dorsa testudinum. Cratero deinde imperat rex, haud procul amne, per quem erat ipse navigaturus, copias duceret: eos autem, qui comitari eum solebant, imponit in naves, et in fines Mallorum[1] secundo amne devehitur. Inde Sabarcas[2] adiit, validam Indiae gentem, quae populi, non regum imperio regebatur. Sexaginta milia peditum habebant, equitum sex milia: has copias currus quingenti sequebantur. Tres duces spectatos virtute bellica elegerant. At qui in agris erant proximi flumini (frequentes autem vicos, maxime in ripa habebunt) ut videre totum amnem, qua prospici poterat, navigiis constratum, et tot militum arma fulgentia, territi nova facie, deorum exercitum et alium Liberum Patrem, celebre in illis gentibus nomen, adventare credebant. Hinc militum clamor, hinc remorum pulsus variaeque nautarum voces hortantium[3] pavidas aures impleverant. Ergo universi ad eos, qui in armis erant, currunt, furere clamitantes, et cum diis proelium inituros: navigia non posse numerari, quae invictos viros veherent. Tantumque in exercitum suorum intulere terroris, ut legatos mitterent gentem dedituros.

31. His in fidem acceptis, ad alias deinde gentes quarto die pervenit. Nihilo plus animi his fuit, quam ceteris fuerat. Itaque oppido ibi condito,[4] quod Alexandriam appellari jusserat, fines eorum, qui Musicani appellantur, intravit. Hic de Teriolte satrape, quem Parapamisadis praefecerat, iisdem arguentibus cognovit:[5] multaque avare ac superbe fecisse convictum interfici jussit. Oxyartes, praetor Bactrianorum, non absolutus modo, sed etiam jure amoris[6] amplioris imperii donatus est finibus. Musicanis deinde in dicionem redactis, urbi eorum praesidium imposuit. Inde Praestos, et ipsam Indiae gentem, perventum est. Porticanus rex erat, qui se munitae urbi cum magna manu popularium incluserat. Hanc Alexander tertio die, quam coeperat obsidere, expugnavit. Et Porticanus, cum in arcem confugisset, legatos de condicione

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[1] The modern city of Mooltan, on the Chenab (Acesines), is supposed to have been the chief town of this tribe.

[2] Diodorus calls this tribe the Sambastae.

[3] 'As they encouraged one another;' namely, to stretch to their oars, or to aid in any duty.

[4] According to Arrian, this city was built at the point where the Acesines falls into the Indus.

[5] That is, at the instance of the Parapamisadae, he put Terioltes upon his trial, or instituted a judicial examination into his conduct.

[6] 'According to the right of relationship,' for Oxyartes was the father of Roxane.

deditionis misit ad regem: sed antequam adirent eum, duae turres cum ingenti fragore prociderant, per quarum ruinas Macedones evasere in arcem, qua capta Porticanus cum paucis repugnans occiditur.

32. Diruta igitur arce, et omnibus captivis venundatis, Sambi regis fines ingressus est: multisque oppidis in fidem acceptis, validissimam gentis urbem cuniculo cepit. Barbaris simile monstri[1] visum est, rudibus militarium operum, quippe in media ferme urbe armati terra existebant, nullo suffossi specus[2] ante vestigio facto. Octoginta milia Indorum in ea regione caesa, Clitarchus est auctor, multosque captivos sub corona venisse.[3] Rursus Musicani defecerunt, ad quos opprimendos missus est Pithon, qui captum principem gentis eundemque defectionis auctorem adduxit ad regem. Quo Alexander in crucem sublato, rursus amnem, in quo classem expectare se jusserat, repetit. Quarto deinde die secundo amne pervenit ad oppidum, quod in regnum[4] erat Sambi. Nuper se ille dediderat, sed oppidani detrectabant imperium, et clauserant portas. Quorum paucitate contempta, rex quingentos Agrianos moenia subire jussit, et sensim recedentes elicere extra muros hostem, secuturum profecto, si fugere eos crederet. Agriani, sicut imperatum erat, lacessito hoste, subito terga vertunt, quos barbari effuse sequentes in alios, inter quos ipse rex erat, incidunt. Renovato ergo proelio, ex tribus milibus barbarorum sexcenti caesi sunt, mille capti, ceteri moenibus urbis inclusi.

33. Sed non ut prima specie laeta victoria, ita eventu quoque fuit: quippe barbari veneno tinxerant gladios. Itaque saucii subinde[5] expirabant, nec causa tam strenuae mortis excogitari poterat a medicis, cum etiam leves plagae insanabiles essent. Barbari autem speraverant incautum et temerarium regem excipi posse. Et forte inter promptissimos dimicans intactus evaserat. Praecipue Ptolemaeus, laevo humero leviter quidem saucius, sed majore periculo quam vulnere affectus, regis sollicitudinem in se converterat. Sanguine conjunctus erat, et quidam Philippo genitum esse credebant, certe pellice ejus ortum constabat. Idem corporis custos, promptissimusque bellator, et pacis artibus quam

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[1] For the government of *similis*, see *Gram.* § 267, note 2.

[2] 'Of a passage dug underground.'

[3] The perfect infinitive of *veneo*, 'I am sold.' See *Gram.* § 175, note 2. It was the custom at Rome for prisoners of war, when brought to sale by auction, to wear a crown.

[4] For *in regno*. See Zumpt, § 316.

[5] 'Immediately afterwards.'

militiae major et clarior, modico civilique[1] cultu, liberalis in primis, adituque facili, nihil ex fastu regiae assumpserat. Ob haec regi an popularibus carior esset, dubitari poterat, tum certe primum expertus suorum animos, adeo ut fortunam, in quam postea ascendit, in illo periculo Macedones ominati esse videantur. Quippe non levior illis Ptolemaei fuit cura, quam regis: qui et proelio et sollicitudine fatigatus cum Ptolemaeo assideret, lectum in quo ipse acquiesceret, jussit inferri. In quem ut se recepit, protinus altior insecutus est somnus. Ex quo excitatus, per quietem vidisse se exponit speciem draconis oblatam,[2] herbam ferentis ore, quam veneni remedium esse monstrasset: colorem quoque herbae referebat, agniturum, si quis repperisset, affirmans. Inventam deinde, quippe a multis simul erat requisita, vulneri imposuit: protinusque dolore finito, intra breve spatium cicatrix quoque obducta est. Barbaros ut prima spes fefellerat, se ipsos urbemque dediderunt.

34. Hinc in proximam gentem Pataliam[3] perventum est. Rex erat Moeris, qui urbe deserta in montes profugerat. Itaque Alexander oppido potitur, agrosque populatur. Magnae inde praedae actae sunt pecorum armentorumque,[4] magna vis reperta frumenti. Ducibus deinde sumptis amnis peritis, defluxit ad insulam medio ferme alveo enatam. Ibi diutius subsistere coactus, quia duces socordius asservati profugerant, misit qui conquirerent alios: nec repertis, pervicax cupido visendi Oceanum, adeundique terminos mundi, sine regionis peritis, flumini ignoto caput suum, totque fortissimorum virorum salutem permittere [coēgit].[5] Navigabant ergo omnium per quae ferebantur ignari. Quantum inde abesset mare, quae gentes colerent, quam placidum amnis os, quam patiens longarum navium esset, anceps et caeca aestimatio augurabatur.[6] Unum erat

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[1] 'Citizen-like dress and other private arrangements:' in opposition to 'princely,' *regius* or *principalis*, as is indicated a little after, by *fastus regiae*, 'pomp of the palace.'

[2] *Oblatam* might have been omitted: *per quietem se vidisse speciem*, or *per quietem sibi oblatam esse speciem* would have been sufficient.

[3] This tribe inhabited the Delta which the Indus, like the Nile, forms at its mouth, and which, as well as its principal town, is called by other writers Patala.

[4] *Armentum* is 'a herd of black cattle:' *pecora* may include all other kinds of cattle, but seems here to mean 'sheep.' We may therefore translate *pecora armentaque*, by an expression which its use in the English translation of the Bible has made very familiar to us, 'flocks and herds.' *Jumentum* is always 'a beast of burthen.'

[5] This word is wanting in the manuscripts; but either it, or some synonymous verb, is necessary to complete the sense.

[6] 'A doubtful and blind valuation (that is, reasoning or guessing) sought to ascertain.'

temeritatis solatium perpetua felicitas. Jam CCCC stadia processerant, cum gubernatores agnoscere ipsos auram maris, et haud procul videri sibi Oceanum abesse, indicant regi. Laetus ille hortari nauticos coepit, incumberent remis: adesse finem laboris omnibus votis expetitum; jam nihil gloriae deesse, nihil obstare virtuti, sine ullo Martis discrimine, sine sanguine orbem terrae ab illis capi; ne naturam quidem longius posse procedere; brevi incognita nisi immortalibus esse visuros. Paucos tamen navigio emisit in ripam, qui agrestes vagos exciperent, e quibus certiora nosci posse sperabat. Illi scrutati omnia tuguria, tandem latentes reppererere. Qui interrogati, quam procul abesset mare? responderunt, nullum ipsos mare ne fama quidem accepisse: ceterum tertio die perveniri posse ad aquam amaram, quae corrumperet dulcem. Intellectum est, mare destinari[1] ab ignaris naturae ejus. Itaque ingenti alacritate nautici remigant, et proximo quoque die, quo propius spes admovebatur, crescebat ardor animorum. Tertio jam die mixtum flumini subibat mare, leni adhuc aestu confundente dispares undas.[2] Tum aliam insulam medio amni sitam evecti paulo lentius, quia cursus aestu reverberabatur,[3] applicant classem, et ad commeatus petendos discurrunt, securi casus ejus, qui supervenit ignaris.

35. Tertia ferme hora erat, cum stata vice[4] Oceanus exaestuans invehi coepit et retro flumen urgere. Quod primo coercitum, deinde vehementius pulsum, majore impetu adversum agebatur, quam torrentia praecipiti alveo incurrunt.[5] Ignota vulgo freti natura erat, monstraque et irae deum indicia cernere videbantur. Identidem intumescens mare et in campos paulo ante siccos descendere superfusum. Jamque levatis navigiis, et tota classe dispersa, qui expositi erant undique ad naves trepidi et improviso malo attoniti recurrunt. Sed in tumultu festinatio quoque tarda est. Hi contis navigia appellebant, hi dum remos aptari prohibebant, consederant.[6] Quidam enavigare properantes, sed non expec-

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[1] 'That the sea was meant.'

[2] 'A tide, as yet weak, mixing the unequal waters (namely, the water of the sea and the river).'

[3] 'The course of the fleet (impelled by the current of the river) was resisted and thrown back by the tide of the ocean.'

[4] 'According to its regular change.' The tide of the Mediterranean is very unimportant compared with that of the open ocean. This fact accounts for the astonishment and alarm of the Macedonians, so vividly described by Curtius.

[5] 'Than mountain torrents rush along in their steep channels:' *incurrunt*, namely, *in mare*.

[6] 'The one party steered their ships to the bank with poles (oars);

tatis, qui simul esse debebant, clauda et inhabilia navigia languide moliebantur: aliae navium inconsulte ruentes non receperant;[1] pariterque et multitudo et paucitas festinantes morabatur. Clamor hinc expectare, hinc ire jubentium dissonaeque voces nunquam idem atque unum tendentium[2] non oculorum modo usum, sed etiam aurium abstulerant. Ne in gubernatoribus quidem quicquam opis erat, quorum nec exaudiri vox a tumultuantibus poterat, nec imperium a territis incompositisque servari. Ergo collidi inter se naves, abstergerique invicem remi,[3] et alii aliorum navigia urgere coeperunt. Crederes non unius exercitus classem vehi, sed duorum navale inisse certamen. Incutiebantur puppibus prorae; premebantur a sequentibus, qui antecedentes turbaverant; jurgantium ira perveniebat etiam ad manus.

36. Jamque aestus totos circa flumen campos inundaverat, tumulis dumtaxat eminentibus, velut insulis parvis; in quos plerique trepidi, omissis navigiis, enare properant. Dispersa classis partim in praealta aqua stabat, qua subsederant valles;[4] partim in vado haerebat, utcunque inaequale terrae fastigium occupaverant undae: cum subito novus et pristino major terror incutitur. Reciprocari[5] coepit mare, magno tractu aquis in suum fretum recurrentibus, reddebatque terras paulo ante profundo salo mersas. Igitur destituta[6] navigia alia praecipitantur in proras, alia in latera procumbunt. Strati erant campi sarcinis, armis, avulsarum tabularum remorumque fragmentis. Miles nec egredi in terram, nec in nave subsistere audebat, identidem praesentibus graviora, quae sequerentur, expectans. Vix quae perpetiebantur videre ipsos credebant, in sicco naufragia, in amni mare. Nec finis malorum. Quippe aestum paulo post mare relaturum, quo navigia allevarentur, ignari, famen et ultima sibimet ominabantur. Beluae quoque fluctibus destitutae terribiles vagabantur.

37. Jamque nox appetebat, et regem quoque[7] desperatio

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the others, while they prevented the oars from being made ready, had stuck fast:' *consederant*, 'sat firm (namely, on the inundated ground).'

[1] 'Other ships had not taken up those rashly rushing in;' that is, 'could not take them up (because they were already full).'

[2] 'Never aiming at, or purposing, one and the same thing.'

[3] 'The oars were alternately broken;' for one ship was dashed against another, before the oars could be drawn in. *Abstergere* is used also as a verb of the third conjugation.

[4] 'Where valleys had sunk;' that is, 'where there were valleys.'

[5] 'To ebb.'

[6] 'Left aground.'

[7] *Quoque* belongs to the whole clause: 'and, besides, the despair of safety had made the king sick.'

salutis aegritudine affecerat. Non tamen invictum animum curae obruunt, quin tota nocte persideret[1] in speculis, equitesque praemitteret ad os amnis, ut, cum mare rursus exaestuare sensissent, praecederent. Navigia quoque et lacerata refici, et eversa fluctibus erigi jubet, paratosque esse et intentos, cum rursus mare terras inundasset. Tota ea nocte inter vigilias adhortationesque consumpta, celeriter et equites ingenti cursu refugere, et secutus est aestus. Qui primo aquis leni tractu subeuntibus coepit levare navigia, mox totis campis inundans etiam impulit classem. Plaususque militum nauticorumque, insperatam salutem immodico celebrantium gaudio, litoribus ripisque resonabat. Unde tantum redisset subito mare? quo pridie refugisset? quaenam esset ejusdem elementi natura, modo discors, modo imperio temporum obnoxia,[2] mirabundi requirebant. Rex cum ex eo, quod acciderat, conjectaret, post solis ortum statum tempus esse, de media nocte,[3] ut aestum occuparet, cum paucis navigiis secundo amne defluxit. Evectusque os ejus quadringenta stadia processit in mare, tandem voti sui compos; praesidibusque et maris et locorum diis sacrificio facto, ad classem rediit.

38. Hinc adversum flumen subit[4] classis, et altero die appulsa est haud procul lacu salso, cujus incognita natura plerosque decepit temere ingressos aquam. Quippe scabies corpora invasit, et contagium[5] morbi etiam in alios vulgatum est. Oleum remedio fuit. Leonnato deinde praemisso, ut puteos foderet, qua terrestri itinere ducturus exercitum videbatur, quippe sicca erat regio, ipse cum copiis subsistit, vernum tempus expectans.[6] Interim et urbes plerasque condidit. Nearcho atque Onesicrito nauticae rei peritis imperavit, ut validissimas navium deducerent in Oceanum, progressique quoad tuto possent, naturam maris noscerent: vel eodem amne, vel Euphrate subire eos posse, cum reverti ad se vellent.

39. Jamque mitigata hieme, et navibus, quae inutiles videbantur, crematis, terra ducebat exercitum.[7] Nonis castris

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[1] 'He continued to sit.'

[2] 'Sometimes opposed, sometimes subject to the command of the different seasons.'

[3] 'Immediately after midnight.'

[4] Even without the *adversum*, *flumen subire* would have meant 'to sail up the river;' for *subire* signifies 'to go from below up to something above.'

[5] More commonly *contagio*.

[6] In the year 325 B. C.

[7] Alexander sent back the greater part of the army, under Craterus, through Arachosia and Drangiana, to Carmania. He himself

in regionem Horiton, inde totidem diebus in Cedrosiorum perventum est. Liber hic populus concilio habito dedidit se, nec quicquam deditis praeter commeatus imperatum est. Quinto hinc die venit ad flumen: Arabum incolae appellant. Regio deserta et aquarum inops excipit: quam emensus in Horitas transit. Ibi majorem exercitus partem Hephaestioni tradidit, levem armaturam cum Ptolemaeo Leonnatoque partitus est. Tria simul agmina populabantur Indos, magnaeque praedae actae sunt: maritimos Ptolemaeus, ceteros ipse rex, et ab alia parte Leonnatus urebant. In hac quoque regione urbem condidit,[1] deductique sunt in eam Arachosii.

40. Hinc pervenit ad maritimos Indos. Desertam vastamque regionem[2] late tenent, ac ne cum finitimis quidem ullo commercii jure miscentur. Ipsa solitudo natura quoque immitia efferavit ingenia: prominent ungues nunquam recisi; comae hirsutae et intonsae sunt. Tuguria conchis et ceteris purgamentis maris instruunt. Ferarum pellibus tecti, piscibus sole duratis, et majorum quoque belaurum, quas fluctus ejecit, carne vescuntur. Consumptis igitur alimentis, Macedones primo inopiam, deinde ad ultimum famem sentire coeperunt, radices palmarum,[3] namque sola ea arbor gignitur, ubique rimantes. Sed cum haec quoque alimenta defecerant[4] jumenta caedere aggressi, ne equis quidem abstinebant; et cum deessent quae sarcinas veherent, spolia de hostibus, propter quae ultima Orientis peragraverant, cremabant incendio. Famem deinde pestilentia secuta est: quippe insalubrium ciborum novi suci, ad hoc itineris labor et aegritudo animi, vulgaverant morbos, et nec manere sine clade, nec progredi poterant: manentes fames, progressos acrior pestilentia urgebat. Ergo strati erant campi paene pluribus semivivis, quam cadaveribus. Ac ne levius quidem aegri sequi poterant: quippe agmen raptim agebatur, tantum

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marched closer to the sea, through the countries of the Arbitae, Oritae (Horitae), Ichthyophagi (Indians inhabiting a district on the coast, who lived on fish), and Gedrosii. There is a slight confusion in the narrative of Curtius here, for in the second sentence of this chapter he comprehends the whole of the march to Gedrosia, and afterwards goes on to describe it more minutely. *Horiton* for *Horitarum:* the Greek form of the genitive plural is very rarely used in the first declension.

[1] On the sea-coast, as we are informed by other authors.

[2] The desert of the Beloochistan.

[3] A shrub is meant, which grows wild in Sicily also, and which resembles the palm tree in nothing except in the similarity of the leaves. Its roots are edible.

[4] Frequently repeated action is here expressed by the pluperfect indicative. Otherwise we should have had *defecissent.*

singulis ad spem salutis ipsos proficere credentibus,[1] quantum itineris festinando praeciperent. Igitur qui defecerant notos ignotosque ut allevarentur orabant: sed nec jumenta erant, quibus excipi possent, et miles vix arma portabat, imminentisque et ipsis facies mali ante oculos erat.[2] Ergo saepius revocati, ne respicere quidem suos sustinebant, misericordia in formidinem versa. Ill relicti deos testes, et sacra communia, regisque implorabant opem, cumque frustra surdas aures fatigarent, in rabiem desperatione versi parem suo exitum, similesque ipsis amicos et contubernales precabantur.

41. Rex, dolore simul ac pudore anxius, quia causa tantae cladis ipse esset, ad Phrataphernen Parthyaeorum satrapen misit, qui juberet camelis cocta cibaria afferre: alios finitimarum regionum praefectos certiores necessitatis suae fecit. Nec cessatum est ab his. Itaque fame dumtaxat[3] vindicatus exercitus tandem in Cedrosiae fines perducitur. Omnium rerum sola fertilis regio est,[4] in qua stativa habuit, ut vexatos milites quiete firmaret. Hic Leonnati litteras accepit, conflixisse ipsum cum octo milibus peditum et trecentis equitibus Horitarum prospero eventu. A Cratero quoque nuntius venit, Ozinen et Zariaspem, nobiles Persas, defectionem molientes oppressos a se, in vinculis esse. Praeposito igitur regioni Sibyrtio (namque Menon praefectus ejus nuper interierat morbo), in Carmaniam ipse processit. Aspastes erat satrapes gentis, suspectus res novare voluisse, dum in India rex est.[5] Quem occurrentem, dissimulata ira comiter allocutus, dum exploraret[6] quae delata erant, in eodem honore habuit.

42. Cum inde praefecti, sicut imperatum erat, equorum jumentorumque jugalium[7] vim ingentem ex omni, quae sub imperio erat, regione misissent, quibus deerant impedimenta, restituit. Arma quoque ad pristinum refecta sunt cultum: quippe haud procul a Perside aberant, non pacata modo, sed etiam opulenta. Igitur, ut supra dictum est, aemulatus Patris Liberi non gloriam solum, quam ex illis gentibus de-

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[1] 'All (every single person) believing that the further they advanced, the nearer they were coming to any hope of safety.'

[2] 'And the image of the calamity, which threatened themselves also was hovering before their eyes.'

[3] As to the use of the adverb *dumtaxat*, see Zumpt, § 274.

[4] 'This is the only district (on the coast of the Indian Sea) which is fertile in all things.'

[5] As to *dum* with the present tense, see *Gram.* § 332, note.

[6] For *dum* with the subjunctive, see *Gram.* § 356.

[7] 'Beasts of burthen trained to,' or 'able to bear the yoke,' *quae jugum ferre poterant.*

portaverat, sed etiam famam, sive illud triumphus fuit ab eo primum institutus,[1] sive bacchantium lusus, statuit imitari, animo super humanum fastigium elato. Vicos, per quos iter erat, floribus coronisque sterni jubet, liminibus aedium crateras vino repletas[2] et alia eximiae magnitudinis vasa disponi; vehicula deinde constrata,[3] ut plures capere milites possent, in tabernaculorum modum ornari, alia candidis velis, alia veste pretiosa. Primi ibant amici et cohors regia, variis redimita floribus coronisque;[4] alibi tibicinum cantus, alibi lyrae sonus audiebatur: item in vehiculis pro copia cujusque adornatis comissabundus[5] exercitus, armis, quae maxime decora erant, circumpendentibus. Ipsum convivasque currus vehebat, crateris aureis ejusdemque materiae ingentibus poculis praegravis. Hoc modo per dies septem bacchabundum agmen incessit, parata praeda, si quid victis saltem adversus comissantes animi fuisset: mille hercule, viri modo et sobrii, septem dierum crapula graves in suo triumpho capere potuerunt. Sed fortuna, quae rebus famam pretiumque constituit, hoc quoque militiae probrum[6] vertit in gloriam. Et praesens aetas et posteritas deinde mirata est, per gentes nondum satis domitas incessisse temulentos, barbaris, quod temeritas erat, fiduciam esse credentibus. Hunc apparatum carnifex sequebatur: quippe satrapes Aspastes, de quo ante dictum est, interfici jussus est. Adeo nec luxuriae quicquam crudelitas, nec crudelitati luxuria obstat.

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[1] The author here expresses an opinion that the *triumphus* peculiar to the Romans was originally a march of *bacchantes* and instituted by Bacchus.

[2] There are two forms—*crater-eris*, masc.; and *cratera-ae*, fem.

[3] 'Overlaid;' namely, with boards.

[4] An instance of *ἓν διὰ δυοῖν*, 'garlands of flowers.' See Zumpt, § 741.

[5] Somewhat stronger than *comissans*. See note, v. 23.

[6] 'This disgrace of the military service.' There can be no question that Curtius judges too harshly here. After the terrible sufferings of the march through the desert, something extraordinary was required to drive from the remembrance of the soldiers their recent miseries.

LIBER X.

(1) During Alexander's stay in Carmania, he institutes a judicial examination into the conduct of Cleander and his confederates in Media. (2) Nearchus brings him an account of his voyage out into the Indian Ocean, and is sent back to the fleet. (3) Alexander forms extensive plans for expeditions by sea, and in order to carry them into effect, directs ships to be built on the Euphrates. (4) He arrives at Persagada. Orsines, the wealthy satrap of Persia, brings rich presents to the king and his friends, passing over, however, the eunuch Bagoas, who on that account calumniates him to Alexander (5), and in particular accuses him of having robbed the tomb of Cyrus. Alexander, whose natural clemency is now in a great measure gone, condemns the satrap unheard. (6) Intelligence comes from Greece of the events which have occurred during Alexander's absence in India. (Here there is a gap. The part lost contained an account of the occurrences in Greece, then of Alexander's march to Susa, of his feasts given for the fraternisation of the Macedonians and Persians, of the prodigality of Harpalus, Alexander's satrap in Babylon, and of his flight to Greece with the treasures intrusted to his charge.) (7) Alexander meditates making war upon Athens, to which Harpalus has fled; but he receives information that the fugitive has been expelled from Athens, and slain in Crete by his own people. He accordingly gives up his purpose of attacking Athens, but (July, 324, B.C.) issues orders to all the states of Greece to take back their exiles. The Athenians alone disobey this command. (8) Alexander sends home the greater part of his army, after paying the debts of all the soldiers. He retains only 15,000 men. (9) The king's purpose to remain in Asia excites a violent mutiny among the Macedonians, who demand that they shall all be allowed to return home, and cannot be appeased. (10) Alexander, in a speech of great severity, dismisses them from the service. (11) He seizes with his own hands several of the ringleaders, and orders them to be punished. The riot gives place to a sudden repentance, but the king is inexorable. (12) He summons around him the new Asiatic soldiers, and, through an interpreter, delivers to them a gracious speech. (13) This reduces the Macedonians to despair, and they offer to submit patiently to any punishment, however severe. (Here the last great gap occurs. Alexander gains his point. 10,000 Macedonian veterans are sent back to Europe, under the command of Craterus and Polysperchon. Alexander advances into Media. His dearest friend, Hephaestion, dies in Ecbatana. The king mourns

greatly for him, and buries him in Babylon with extraordinary magnificence. In the same city Alexander himself is seized with fever, and when near death) (14) he allows all the soldiers to pass along by his bed, gives his signet-ring to Perdiccas, says a few words to his friends, and expires (June 11, 323 B. C.). (15, 16) The deep impression made by Alexander's death upon the Macedonians, Persians, and inhabitants of Babylon is described. (17) Sisygambis, though she had survived Darius, cannot bear this shock, and commits suicide. (18) The author gives a comprehensive view of the character of Alexander, representing his excellencies as the gifts of nature, and excusing his errors and faults upon the ground of his youth and high position. (19) In the assembly of the generals, into which many of the common soldiers also intrude, Perdiccas presents the question for decision, Who is to hold the reins of government till Alexander's son, who is hoped for from Roxane, shall have grown up? (20) Nearchus proposes to raise Alexander's illegitimate son by Barsine to the throne; but all are opposed to this. Ptolemy's suggestion, that Alexander's council of war should govern, is approved of by some. Aristonus recommends Perdiccas for the royal dignity, but he hesitates to grasp at what is offered him. (21) Meleager speaks with violence against Perdiccas, and calls upon the soldiers to make themselves masters of the royal treasures. (22) An unknown person supports the claims of Arrhidaeus, Alexander's half-brother. Pithon in vain opposes this; the majority approve of the proposal; and Meleager leads in Arrhidaeus, henceforward called Philip. (23) The chiefs resolve that the yet unborn son of Alexander shall be king, Perdiccas and Leonnatus regents in Asia: on the other hand, Meleager and the infantry proclaim Philip king. (24) A fight ensues in the chamber where Alexander's body is lying. After it is finished, the cavalry take the side of Perdiccas. (25) At the instigation of Meleager, Perdiccas, who has remained in Babylon, is to be put to death; but he frightens back the assassins, and joins himself to the cavalry outside the city. (26) Alarm seizes the minds of all; the cavalry blockade the city. (27) Ambassadors are sent to the cavalry: Philip himself interposes. It is agreed that Philip shall be king along with Alexander's son, and that Meleager shall be added to Perdiccas and Leonnatus as a third regent. (28) The one great empire is coming near to its dissolution, since it is to be ruled by several persons. Perdiccas is desirous to free himself of Meleager. He first induces in him a feeling of security, and then appoints a review, at which Meleager expects his enemies to be punished. (29) But on the contrary Philip, on the advice of Perdiccas, orders 300 factious persons of Meleager's party to be executed. Meleager himself is next put to death. (30) The provinces are divided according to a common agreement. (31) After seven days, arrangements are made as to the disposal of Alexander's body. The report is spread that he

had been poisoned by Iollas, the son of Antipater. The embalmed body is taken by Ptolemy to Memphis, and afterwards to Alexandria, where all honour is paid to it.

Iisdem fere diebus Cleander et Sitalces et cum Agathone Heracon superveniunt, qui Parmenionem jussu regis occiderant, quinque milia peditum cum equitibus mille.[1] Sed et accusatores eos e provincia, cui praefuerant, sequebantur; nec tot facinora, quot admiserant, compensare poterant caedis perquam gratae regi ministerio. Quippe cum omnia profana spoliassent, ne sacris quidem abstinuerant,[2] virginesque et principes feminarum, stupra perpessae, corporum ludibria deflebant. Invisum Macedonum nomen avaritia eorum ac libido barbaris fecerat. Inter omnes tamen eminebat Cleandri furor, qui nobilem virginem constupratam servo suo pellicem dederat. Plerique amicorum Alexandri non tam criminum, quae palam objiciebantur, atrocitatem, quam memoriam occisi per illos Parmenionis, quod tacitum[3] prodesse reis apud regem poterat, intuebantur, laeti recidisse iram in irae ministros, nec ullam potentiam scelere quaesitam cuiquam esse diuturnam. Rex cognita causa pronuntiavit, ab accusatoribus unum et id maximum crimen esse praeteritum, desperationem salutis suae:[4] nunquam enim talia ausuros,[5] qui ipsum ex India sospitem aut optassent reverti, aut credidissent reversurum. Igitur hos quidem vinxit, DC autem militum,[6] qui saevitiae eorum ministri fuerant, interfici jussit. Eodem die sumptum est supplicium de iis quoque, quos auctores defectionis Persarum Craterus adduxerat.

2. Haud multo post Nearchus et Onesicritus, quos longius in Oceanum procedere jusserat, superveniunt. Nuntiabant autem quaedam audita, alia comperta: insulam ostio amnis subjectam auro abundare, inopem equorum esse: singulos eos ab iis, qui ex continenti trajicere auderent, singulis talentis emi. Plenum esse beluarum mare: aestu secundo

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[1] The number of the troops which the generals had along with them is here placed in apposition to their names.

[2] *Sacrum et profanum*, exactly the English 'sacred and profane,' are opposed to each other quite in the same way as *publicum* and *privatum*.

[3] 'Unmentioned.' *Tacitum* may be either 'that which does not speak,' or 'that which is not spoken of.'

[4] 'The giving up of all expectation that he would remain alive.'

[5] For *ausuros fuisse;* a rare ellipsis, since usually only *esse* is omitted in the future infinitive active, and perfect infinitive passive. In the direct speech the sentence would have been *nunquam talia ausi essent, si optassent*, &c.

[6] The partitive genitive after numerals is not unfrequent in Curtius. See, for example, vi. 19.

eas ferri, magnarum navium corpora aequantes, truci cantu deterritas sequi classem,[1] cum magno aequoris strepitu, velut demersa navigia, subisse aquas. Cetera incolis crediderant, inter quae, Rubrum mare non a colore undarum, ut plerique crederent, sed ab Erythro rege appellari: esse haud procul a continenti insulam palmis frequentibus consitam, et in medio fere nemore columnam eminere, Erythri regis monumentum, litteris gentis ejus scriptam. Adjiciebant, navigia, quae lixas mercatoresque vexissent, famam auri secutis gubernatoribus, in insulam esse transmissa, nec deinde ab his[2] postea visa. Rex, cognoscendi plura cupidine accensus, rursus eos terram legere jubet, donec ad Euphratis ostia appellerent classem, inde adverso amne Babylona subituros.

3. Ipse animo infinita complexus statuerat, omni ad Orientem maritima regione perdomita, ex Syria petere Africam, Carthagini infensus: inde Numidiae solitudinibus peragratis, cursum Gadis[3] dirigere. Ibi namque columnas Herculis esse fama vulgaverat. Hispanias deinde, quas Iberiam Graeci a flumine Ibero vocabant, adire; et praetervehi Alpes, Italiaeque oram, unde in Epirum brevis cursus est. Igitur Mesopotamiae praetoribus imperavit, materia in Libano monte caesa, devectaque ad urbem Syriae Thapsacum, septingentarum carinas navium ponere: septiremes[4] omnes esse, deducique Babyloniam. Cypriorum regibus imperatum, ut aes stuppamque[5] et vela praeberent. Haec agenti Pori et Taxilis regum litterae traduntur, Abisaren morbo, Philippum, praefectum ipsius, ex vulnere interisse, oppressosque qui vulnerassent eum. Igitur Philippo substituit Eudaemonem. Dux erat Thracum. Abisaris regnum filio ejus attribuit.

4. Ventum est deinde Persagada.[6] Persica est gens, cujus satrapes Orsines erat, nobilitate ac divitiis inter omnes bar-

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[1] 'When by a wild cry (raised by the seamen), they had been frightened back from following the fleet.'

[2] 'By them;' namely, the narrators.

[3] The old form *is* in the accusative plural of nouns having *ium* in the genitive (see *Gram.* § 69), was retained especially in proper names, such as *Sardis* and *Gadis*.

[4] 'With seven rows of oars (one above another).' These ships were therefore to be of extraordinary size for that age, those in ordinary use among the Greeks having been only *triremes*. They had, however, a few *quinqueremes*, which became very common about a hundred years later, in the Punic wars. Alexander intended to send this fleet, which was now to be built on the Euphrates, along the coast of Arabia and round Africa.

[5] 'Copper,' in which Cyprus was rich, 'and oakum,' to caulk the ships.

[6] Or *Persagadas*, which is properly the name of the tribe.

baros eminens. Genus ducebat a Cyro, quondam rege Persarum: opes et a majoribus traditas habebat, et ipse longa imperii[1] possessione cumulaverat. Is regi cum omnis generis donis, non ipsi modo ea, sed etiam amicis ejus daturus, occurrit. Equorum domiti greges sequebantur, currusque argento et auro adornati, pretiosa supellex, et nobiles gemmae, aurea magni ponderis vasa, vestesque purpureae, et signati argenti talentum tria milia. Ceterum tanta benignitas barbaro causa mortis fuit. Nam cum omnes amicos regis donis super ipsorum vota coluisset, Bagoae spadoni, qui Alexandrum obsequio corporis devinxerat sibi, nullum honorem habuit. Admonitusque a quibusdam, quam Alexandro cordi esset, respondit, amicos regis, non scorta se colere, nec moris esse Persis, mares ducere, qui stupro effeminarentur. His auditis spado potentiam, flagitio et dedecore quaesitam, in caput nobilissimi et insontis exercuit. Namque gentis ejusdem levissimos falsis criminibus adstruxit,[2] monitos tum demum ea deferre, cum ipse jussisset. Interim quotiens sine arbitris erat, credulas regis aures implebat, dissimulans causam irae, quo gravior criminantis auctoritas esset. Nondum suspectus erat Orsines, jam tamen vilior.[3] Reus enim in secreto agebatur,[4] latentis periculi ignarus: et importunissimum scortum, ne in stupro quidem et dedecoris patientia fraudis oblitum, quotiens amorem regis in se accenderat, Orsinem modo avaritiae, interdum etiam defectionis, arguebat.

5. Jam matura erant in perniciem innocentis mendacia, et fatum, cujus inevitabilis sors est, appetebat. Forte enim sepulcrum Cyri Alexander jussit aperiri, in quo erat conditum ejus corpus, cui dare volebat inferias. Auro argentoque repletum esse crediderat, quippe ita fama Persae vulgaverant; sed praeter clipeum ejus putrem et arcus duos Scythicos et acinacem nihil repperit. Ceterum corona aurea imposita amiculo, cui assuerat ipse, solium,[5] in quo corpus jacebat, velavit, miratus, tanti nominis regem, tantis praeditum opibus, haud pretiosius sepultum esse, quam si fuisset e plebe. Proximus erat lateri spado, qui regem intuens, Quid mirum, inquit,

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[1] Properly he did not possess the *imperium*, but only a *potestas*, *praefectura*. *Imperium*, however, is sometimes used in the narrower sense of a subordinate command.

[2] Equivalent to *adornavit*, *instruxit*, 'furnished,' 'provided them.' The verb *subornare* would have comprehended the sense of the whole clause.

[3] 'Not so highly esteemed'

[4] 'He was accused.' *Reus* is 'an accused person;' *agere causam*, *rem*, 'to bring a case to trial.' Out of this the expression *aliquem reum agere* is formed.

[5] 'Coffin.'

est, inania sepulcra esse regum, cum satraparum domus aurum inde egestum capere non possint? Quod ad me attinet, ipse hoc bustum ante non videram: sed ex Dareo ita accepi, tria milia talentum condita esse cum Cyro. Hinc illa benignitas in te, ut, quod impune habere non poterat Orsines, donando etiam gratiam iniret. Concitaverat jam animum in iram: cum hi, quibus negotium idem dederat, superveniunt. Hinc Bagoas, hinc ab eo subornati, falsis criminibus occupant aures. Antequam accusari se suspicaretur Orsines, in vincula est traditus. Non contentus supplicio insontis spado, ipse morituro manum injecit. Quem Orsines intuens, Audieram, inquit, in Asia olim regnasse feminas, hoc vero novum est, regnare castratum! Hic fuit exitus nobilissimi Persarum, nec insontis modo, sed eximiae quoque benignitatis in regem. Eodem tempore Phradates,[1] regnum affectasse suspectus, occiditur. Coeperat esse praeceps ad repraesentanda supplicia, item ad deteriora credenda. Scilicet res secundae valent commutare naturam, et raro quisquam erga bona sua[2] satis cautus est. Idem enim paulo ante Lyncesten Alexandrum delatum a duobus indicibus damnare non sustinuerat, humiliores quoque reos contra suam voluntatem, quia ceteris videbantur insontes, passus absolvi; hostibus victis regna reddiderat: ad ultimum vero ita tum ab semetipso degeneravit, ut, invictus quondam adversus libidinem animi, arbitrio scorti aliis regna daret, aliis adimeret vitam.

6. Iisdem fere diebus litteras accipit de rebus in Europa et Asia gestis, dum ipse Indiam subegit. Zopyrio, Thraciae praepositus, cum expeditionem in Getas[3] faceret, tempestatibus procellisque subito coortis, cum toto exercitu oppressus erat. Qua cognita clade, Seuthes Odrysas[4] populares suos ad defectionem compulerat. Amissa propemodum Thracia, ne Graecia quidem * * *

FREINSHEMII SUPPLEMENTUM.

[tumultibus inconcussa mansit. Nam Alexander, punita satraparum quorundam insolentia, quam, dum in extremo orbe Indorum armis attinetur, per summa scelera atque flagitia in provinciales exercuerant, ceterorum metum intenderat: qui in paribus delictis idem admissorum praemium expectantes, in mercenariorum militum

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[1] See viii. 13.

[2] 'Against his good fortune;' not, as usual, 'against his own property.'

[3] The Getae were an independent branch of the great Thracian race, dwelling to the north of the Haemus mountains, and on the river Ister (Danube).

[4] A Thracian tribe.

fidem confugiebant, illorum manibus, si ad supplicium poscerentur, salutem suam tutaturi; aut pecunia, quanta poterat, coacta, fugam inibant. Ea re cognita litterae ad omnes Asiae praetores missae sunt, quibus inspectis e vestigio omnes peregrinos milites, qui stipendia sub ipsis facerent, dimittere jubebantur. Erat inter eos Harpalus, quem Alexander, quod ob ipsius amicitiam olim a Philippo ejectus solum vertisset, inter fidissimos habebat, et post Mazaei mortem satrapia Babyloniae donaverat, thesaurorumque custodiae praefecerat. Is igitur cum fiduciam, quam in propensissima regis gratia habere poterat, magnitudine flagitiorum consumpsisset, quinque talentum milia ex gaza regia rapit, conductaque sex milium mercenariorum manu, in Europam evadit. Jampridem enim luxu et libidinibus in praeceps tractus, desperataque apud regem venia, adversus iram ipsius in alienis opibus subsidium circumspicere coeperat; et Athenienses, quorum non contemnendam potentiam, et apud ceteros Graecos auctoritatem, tum occultum in Macedonas odium norat, sedulo coluerat. Itaque spem suis faciebat, Athenienses adventu suo cognito, copiisque et pecuniis, quas adduceret, coram inspectis, protinus arma consiliaque sociaturos esse. Nam apud populum imperitum et mobilem, per homines improbos et avaritia venales, omnia se muneribus consecuturum existimabat.]

7. Igitur triginta navibus Sunium transmittunt[1] (promontorium est Atticae terrae), unde portum urbis petere decreverant. His cognitis, rex Harpalo Atheniensibusque juxta infestus classem parari jubet, Athenas protinus petiturus. Quod consilium cum clam agitat, litterae ei redduntur, Harpalum intrasse quidem Athenas, pecunia[2] conciliasse sibi principum animos: mox, concilio plebis habito, jussum urbe excedere ad Graecos milites pervenisse, quibus in Cretam trajectis, a quodam Thimbrone interemptum per insidias. His laetus in Europam trajiciendi consilium omisit: sed exules, praeter eos, qui civili sanguine aspersi erant,[3] recipi ab omnibus Graecorum civitatibus, quis pulsi erant,[4] jussit. Et Graeci, haud ausi imperium aspernari, quamquam solvendarum legum id principium esse censebant bona quoque,

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[1] The subject is 'Harpalus, and a number of Greek mercenaries, whom he had taken into his service.' See the contents, chap 6.

[2] A connecting conjunction, *et* or *ac*, seems to be required.

[3] 'Who had committed murder.' We should properly have the subjunctive here, for it must have been a part of Alexander's message; but see Zumpt, § 548.

[4] 'From which they had been expelled:' the simple ablative for *ex quibus*. We might take *quis* to be the dative, standing for *a quibus*. But this is more rare. We can say either *ex patria pellere*, or *patria pellere*. See *Gram.* § 298.

quae extarent,[1] restituere damnatis. Soli Athenienses, non suae modo, sed etiam publicae vindices libertatis, colluvionem ordinum hominum quia aegre ferebant, non regio imperio, sed legibus moribusque patriis regi assueti, prohibuere finibus, omnia potius toleraturi, quam purgamenta quondam urbis suae, tunc etiam exilii,[2] admitterent.

8. Alexander, senioribus militum in patriam remissis, tredecim milia peditum et duo milia equitum, quae in Asia retineret, eligi jussit, existimans, modico exercitu continere posse Asiam, quia pluribus locis praesidia disposuisset; nuperque conditas urbes, quas colonis replesset, res novare[3] cupientibus obstare credebat. Ceterum priusquam secerneret, quos erat retenturus, edixit, ut omnes milites aes alienum profiterentur. Grave plerisque esse compererat, et quamquam ipsorum luxu contractum erat, dissolvere tamen ipse decreverat. Illi, temptari ipsos rati, quo facilius ab integris[4] sumptuosos discerneret, prolatando aliquantum extraxerant temporis. Et rex satis gnarus, professioni aeris pudorem, non contumaciam obstare, mensas totis castris poni jussit, et decem milia talentum proferri. Tum demum fide facta professi sunt, nec amplius ex tanta pecunia quam centum et triginta talenta superfuere. Adeo ille exercitus, tot ditissimarum gentium victor, plus tamen victoriae, quam praedae, deportavit ex Asia.

9. Ceterum ut cognitum est, alios remitti domos, alios retineri, perpetuam eum regni sedem in Asia habiturum rati, vecordes et disciplinae militaris immemores, seditiosis vocibus castra complent, regemque ferocius quam alias adorti, omnes simul missionem postulare coeperunt, deformia ora cicatricibus canitiemque capitum ostentantes. Nec aut praefectorum castigatione, aut verecundia regis[5] deterriti, tumultuoso clamore et militari violentia volentem loqui inhibebant, palam professi, nusquam inde, nisi in patriam, vestigium esse moturos. Tandem silentio facto, magis quia motum esse credebant, quam quia ipsi moveri poterant, quidnam acturus esset, expectabant. Ille, Quid haec, inquit, repens consternatio,[6] et tam procax atque effusa licentia denuntiat? Eloqui

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[1] The subjunctive expresses here a restriction, and we might have had *quae quidem*. See *Gram.* § 360, 3, note 2.

[2] 'The offscourings, formerly of Athens, now even of exile.' This implies that the better part of the exiles had already settled, and found homes in other countries.

[3] *Res novae* are 'revolutionary movements.'

[4] 'Free from debt.'

[5] 'Reverence for the king.'

[6] 'Loss of self-command,' often used, like *furor*, of a mutiny.

metuo: palam certe rupistis imperium, et precario rex sum, cui non alloquendi, non noscendi[1] monendique aut intuendi vos jus reliquistis. Equidem cum alios dimittere in patriam, alios mecum paulo post deportare[2] statuerim, tam illos acclamantes video, qui abituri sunt, quam hos, cum quibus praemissos subsequi statui. Quid hoc est rei? dispari in causa idem omnium clamor est! Pervelim scire, utrum qui discedunt, an qui retinentur, de me querantur. Crederes uno ore omnes sustulisse clamorem, ita pariter ex tota contione responsum est, omnes queri.

10. Tum ille, non hercule, inquit, potest fieri, ut adducar,[3] querendi simul omnibus hanc causam esse, quam ostenditis, in qua major pars exercitus non est, utpote cum[4] plures dimiserim, quam retenturus sum. Subest nimirum altius malum, quod omnes avertit a me. Quando enim regem universus deseruit exercitus? Ne servi quidem uno grege profugiunt dominos, sed est quidam in illis pudor a ceteris destitutos relinquendi. Verum ego tam furiosae consternationis oblitus, remedia insanabilibus conor adhibere. Omnem hercule spem, quam ex vobis conceperam, damno, nec ut cum militibus meis, jam enim esse desistis, sed ut cum ingratissimis operis[5] agere decrevi. Secundis rebus, quae circumfluunt vos, insanire coepistis, obliti status ejus, quem beneficio exuistis meo, digni hercule, qui in eodem consenescatis, quoniam facilius est vobis adversam, quam secundam regere fortunam. En tandem! Illyriorum paulo ante et Persarum tributariis Asia et tot gentium spolia fastidio sunt. Modo sub Philippo seminudis amicula ex purpura sordent,[6] aurum et argentum oculi ferre non possunt: lignea enim vasa desiderant, et ex cratibus scuta rubiginemque gladiorum. Hoc cultu nitentes vos accepi, et quingenta talenta aeris alieni, cum omnis regia supellex haud amplius quam sexaginta talentorum esset, meorum operum fundamenta. Quibus tamen (absit invidia) imperium maximae terrarum partis imposui.[7] Asiaene pertaesum est, quae vos gloria rerum gestarum diis praes fecit? In Europam ire properatis, rege

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[1] 'Knowledge to separate the one from the other.'

[2] 'To bring back.' In the preposition *de* there is implied the additional sense of 'home,' 'to one's native country,' as in *decedere, deducere*.

[3] 'I can never be brought,' namely, 'to believe'—an omission which is not unfrequent with this expression.

[4] Equivalent to *cum* by itself. Compare Zumpt, § 565.

[5] 'Workmen.'

[6] 'To those who not long ago, under Philip, were half-naked, purple cloaks are now common,' 'of little value.'

[7] 'On these foundations I have raised the empire,' &c.

deserto, cum pluribus vestrum defuturum viaticum fuerit, ni aes alienum luissem: nempe in Asiatica praeda.[1] Nec pudet profundo ventre devictarum gentium spolia circumferentes, reverti velle ad liberos conjugesque, quibus pauci praemia victoriae potestis ostendere. Nam ceterorum, dum etiam spei vestrae obviam istis, arma quoque pignori sunt. Bonis vero militibus cariturus sum, pellicum suarum concubinis: quibus hoc solum ex tantis opibus superest, in quod impenditur.[2] Proinde fugientibus me pateant limites: facessite hinc ocius; ego cum Persis abeuntium terga tutabor. Neminem teneo: liberate oculos meos, ingratissimi cives. Laeti vos excipient parentes liberique sine vestro rege redeuntes! obviam ibunt desertoribus transfugisque! Triumphabo mehercule de fuga vestra, et ubicunque ero, expetam poenas, hos, cum quibus me relinquitis, colendo praeferendoque vobis. Jam autem scietis, et quantum sine rege valeat exercitus, et quid opis in me uno sit.

11. Desiluit deinde frendens de tribunali, et in medium armatorum agmen se immisit, notatos quoque, qui ferocissime oblocuti erant, singulos manu corripuit, nec ausos repugnare, tredecim asservandos custodibus corporis tradidit. Quis crederet, saevam paulo ante contionem obtorpuisse subito metu, et cum ad supplicium videret trahi nihil ausos graviora quam ceteros * *[3] sive nominis, quod gentes, quae sub regibus sunt, inter deos colunt, sive propria ipsius veneratio, sive fiducia tanta vi exercentis imperium conterruit eos: singulare certe ediderunt patientiae exemplum, adeoque non sunt accensi supplicio comilitonum, cum sub noctem interfectos esse cognossent ut nihil omiserint, quod singuli magis obedienter et pie facerent.[4] Nam cum postero die prohibiti aditu venissent, Asiaticis modo militibus admissis, lugubrem,[5] totis castris edidere clamorem, denuntiantes, protinus esse morituros,[6] si rex perseveraret irasci.

12. At ille pervicacis ad omnia, quae agitasset, animi, peregrinorum militum contionem advocari jubet, Macedonibus intra castra cohibitis: et cum frequentes coissent, adhibito interprete talem orationem habuit: Cum ex Europa traji-

[1] *In* has here the force of 'notwithstanding.'

[2] Namely, the concubines whom the soldiers supported.

[3] Some words have dropt out here, such as *ne vocem quidem sustulisse. Sed.*

[4] *Ut . . . facerent.* This is a more diffuse mode of expressing 'that no one could have conducted himself in a more obedient manner.'

[5] 'A death-wail;' that is, a wail such as is raised over corpses; for *lugere, luctus, lugubris*, all refer to death.

[6] *Se* is omitted, as frequently in Curtius, after verbs of declaring.

cerem in Asiam, multas nobiles gentes, magnam vim hominum imperio meo me additurum esse sperabam. Nec deceptus sum, quod de his credidi famae. Sed ad illa hoc quoque accessit, quod video fortes viros erga reges suos pietatis invictae. Luxu omnia fluere credideram, et nimia felicitate mergi in voluptates. At hercules[1] munia militiae hoc animorum corporumque robore aeque[2] impigre toleratis, et cum fortes viri sitis, non fortitudinem magis, quam fidem colitis. Hoc ego nunc primum profiteor, sed olim scio. Itaque et delectum e vobis juniorum habui, et vos meorum militum corpori[3] immiscui. Idem habitus, eadem arma sunt vobis: obsequium vero et patientia imperii longe praestantior est, quam ceteris. Ergo ipse Oxyartis Persae filiam mecum in matrimonio junxi, non dedignatus ex captiva liberos tollere. Mox deinde cum stirpem generis mei latius propagare cuperem, uxorem Darei filiam duxi,[4] proximisque amicorum auctor fui ex captivis generandi liberos: ut hoc sacro foedere omne discrimen victi et victoris excluderem. Proinde genitos esse vos mihi, non ascitos milites credite. Asiae et Europae unum atque idem regnum est. Macedonum vobis arma do. Inveteravi peregrinam novitatem,[5] et cives mei estis et milites. Omnia eundem ducunt colorem: nec Persis Macedonum morem adumbrare nec Macedonibus Persas imitari indecorum. Ejusdem juris esse debent, qui sub eodem rege victuri sunt * * *

SUPPLEMENTUM.

[Hac oratione habita, Persis corporis sui custodiam credidit, Persas satellites, Persas apparitores fecit. Per quos cum Macedones, qui huic seditioni occasionem dedissent, vincti ad supplicia traherentur, unum ex iis, auctoritate et aetate gravem, ad regem ita locutum ferunt:]

13. Quousque, inquit, animo tuo etiam per supplicia, et quidem externi moris,[6] obsequeris? Milites tui, cives tui,

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[1] In invocations the vocative *Hercule* occurs more frequently.

[2] *Aeque animorum et* (*atque*) *corporum* are connected.

[3] Here we find the origin of the words 'corps' and 'corporation' in modern languages. Cicero does not use *corpus* in this sense of 'a division of the people,' but employs for it *ordo*.

[4] She was called Barsine, or, according to other authors, had the same name as her mother, Statira. Curtius must have spoken of this marriage (which took place during Alexander's stay in Susa, after his return from India) in the part of his history that is lost between chapters 6 and 7 of this book.

[5] That is, 'by giving to you, raw recruits as you are, the arms of my old soldiers the Macedonians, I have made you old soldiers also.'

[6] The *supplicium externi moris* refers to death by drowning, as we

incognita causa, captivis suis ducentibus, trahuntur ad poenam! Si mortem meruisse judicas, saltem ministros supplicii muta. Amico animo, si veri patiens fuisset, admonebatur, sed in rabiem[1] ira pervenerat. Itaque rursus (nam parumper quibus imperatum erat dubitaverant), mergi in amnem, sicut vincti erant, jussit. Ne hoc quidem supplicium seditionem militum movit. Namque copiarum duces atque amicos ejus manipuli adeunt petentes, ut si quos adhuc pristina noxa judicaret esse contactos, juberet interfici, offerre se corpora irae, trucidaret * * *

SUPPLEMENTUM FREINSHEMII.

[Tandem prae dolore vix mentis compotes universi concurrunt ad regiam, armisque ante fores projectis, tunicati astantes, nuda et obnoxia poenis corpora admitti flentes orabant. Non se deprecari, quin suppliciis sontium expiarentur, quae per contumaciam deliquissent. Regis iracundiam sibi morte tristiorem esse. Cumque dies noctesque ante regiam persistentes, miserabili clamore habituque poenitentiam suam approbarent; biduum tamen adversus humilimas suorum preces iracundia regis duravit. Tertio die victus constantia supplicum processit, incusataque leniter exercitus immodestia, non sine multis utrinque lacrimis, in gratiam se cum ipsis redire professus est. Digna tamen res visa est, quae majoribus hostiis expiaretur. Itaque sacrificio magnifice perpetrato, Macedonum simul Persarumque primores invitavit ad epulas. Novem milia eo convivio excepisse, proditum est memoriae, eosque omnes invitante rege ex eodem cratere libavisse, Graecis barbarisque vatibus tum alia fausta vota praeeuntibus, tum imprimis ut ea utriusque imperii in idem corpus coalita societas perpetua foret. Maturata deinde est missio, et infirmissimus quisque exauctorati. Amicorum quoque seniorum quibusdam commeatum dedit. Ex quis Clitus cognomento Albus Gorgiasque et Polydamas et Antigenes fuere. Abeuntibus non modo praeteriti temporis stipendia cum fide persolvit, verum etiam talentum adjecit in singulos milites, viatici nomine. Filios ex Asiaticis uxoribus susceptos (ad decem milia fuisse traduntur) apud se relinqui jussit, ne in Macedoniam cum parentibus transgressi, et conjugibus liberisque prioribus permixti, familias singulorum contentionibus et discordiis implerent; sibi curae fore pollicitus, ut patrio more instituti militiae artes edocerentur. Ita supra decem veteranorum milia dimissa sunt; additusque est Craterus, qui eos deduceret, ex praecipuis regis amicis. Cui si quid humanitus accidisset, Polyperchonti parere jussi sunt. Litteris etiam ad Antipatrum scriptis, honorem emeritis haberi praecepit, ut

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find a little after. Something must have been said of this in the part lost.

[1] 'Fury;' *rabies*, used here to express the highest possible degree of passion, commonly said of mad dogs.

quotiens ludi atque certamina ederentur, in primis ordinibus coronati spectarent; utque fato functorum liberi impuberes in paterna stipendia succederent. Craterum Macedoniae continentibusque regionibus cum imperio praeesse placuit, Antipatrum cum supplemento juniorum Macedonum ad regem pergere. Verebatur enim, ne per discordiam praefecti cum Olympiade gravis aliqua clades acciperetur. Nam multas ad Alexandrum epistolas mater, multas Antipater miserat, vicissimque alter alterum arroganter et acerbe pleraque facere criminabantur, quae ad dedecus aut detrimentum regiae majestatis pertinerent. Postquam enim rumor occisi regis temere vulgatus in Macedoniam penetravisset, mater ejus sororque Cleopatra tumultuatae fuerant, et haec quidem paternum regnum, Olympias Epirum invaserat. Forte dum ejusmodi litterae reddunfur, Hephaestion, assuetus omnium arcanorum se participem haberi, resignatas ab Alexandro simul inspiciebat. Neque vetuit eum rex, sed detractum digito anulum ori legentis admovit, nihil eorum, quae perscripta essent, in alios efferendum significans. Incusasse autem ambos fertur, et matris insolentia permotum exclamasse, eam pro habitatione decem mensium, quam in utere sibi praebuisset, gravem mercedem exigere: Antipatrum vero suspectum habuisse, quasi parta ex Spartanis victoria tollentem animos, et imperio tot jam in annos prorogato supra praefecti modum elatum. Itaque cum ejus gravitas atque integritas a quibusdam praedicaretur, subjecit, exterius quidem album videri, sed si penitus introspiciatur, totum esse purpureum. Pressit tamen suspicionem suam, neque ullum manifestius abalienati animi indicium praetulit. Credidere tamen plerique, Antipatrum, evocari se supplicii causa ratum, impiis machinationibus regiae mortis, quae paulo post secuta est, auctorem extitisse.

Interea rex, ut imminuti exercitus detrimenta sarciret, optimum quemque Persarum in Macedonicos ordines allegit: mille etiam praestantissimos segregavit ad propiorem sui corporis custodiam: aliam hastatorum manum, haud pauciores decem milibus, circa regium tabernaculum excubias agere jussit. Haec agenti Peucestes supervenit cum viginti sagittarum funditorumque milibus, quos ex sua provincia coëgerat. His per exercitum distributis profectus est Susis, et Pasitigri amne transmisso, apud Caras castra metatus est: inde quatriduo per Sittacenen ductis copiis Sambana processit, ubi per septem dies quietum agmen tenuit. Tridui deinde itinere emenso Celonas perventum est. Oppidum hoc tenent Boeotia profecti, quos Xerxes sedibus suis excitos in Orientem transtulit: servabantque argumentum originis peculiari sermone, ex Graecis plerumque vocibus constante: ceterum ob commerciorum necessitatem finitimorum barbarorum lingua utebantur. Inde Bagistanen ingressus est, regionem opulentam et abundantem arborum amoeno et fecundo foetu, ceterisque ad vitae non usum modo, verum etiam delectationem pertinentibus. Gravis inter haec Eumeni cum Hephaestione simultas inciderat. Nam servos Eumenis diversorio,

quod pro hero suo anteceperant, Hephaestio proturbavit, ut Eujus tibicen eo reciperetur. Neque multo post, cum jam sopita odia viderentur, nova exorta contentione adeo recruduerunt, ut etiam in atrox jurgium et acerba utrinque convicia prorumperent. Sed Alexandri interventu imperioque inimicitiae saltem in speciem abolitae sunt: cum ille quidem Hephaestioni etiam minatus esset, qui in flagrantissima regis gratia positus, quamquam cupidum reconciliationis Eumenem, pertinacius aversabatur.

Perventum deinde est in Mediae campos, ubi maximi equorum greges pascebantur. Nisaeos appellant, magnitudine et specie insignes. Supra quinquaginta milia ibi reperta, cum Alexander eo transiret, a comitibus illius annotatum est: olim triplo plures fuisse, sed inter bellorum turbas maximam eorum partem praedones abegisse. Ad triginta dies ibi substitit rex. Eo Atropates Mediae satrapa centum barbaras mulieres adduxit, equitandi peritas, peltisque et securibus armatas: unde quidam crediderunt, Amazonum ex gente reliquias fuisse. Septimis deinde castris Ecbatana attigit, Mediae caput. Ibi sollemnia diis sacrificia fecit, ludosque edidit, et in convivia festosque dies laxavit animum, ut mox in novorum operum curam atque ministeria validior intenderetur. Sed ista volventem, velut injecta manu, fatum alio traxit, vitamque carissimo amicorum ejus, neque multo post ipsi quoque regi extorsit. Pueros in stadio certantes spectabat, cum nuntiatur deficere Hephaestionem, qui morbo ex crapula contracto septimum jam diem decumbebat. Exterritus amici periculo statim consurgit, et ad hospitium illius celeriter pergit: neque tamen prius eo pervenit, quam illum mors occupasset. Id regi omnium, quae in vita pertulerat, adversorum luctuosissimum accidisse certum habetur, eumque magnitudine doloris in lacrimas et lamenta victum, multa animi de gradu dejecti argumenta edidisse. Sed ea quidem varie traduntur: illud inter omnes constat, ut quam decentissimas exequias ei duceret, noluisse Ecbatanis sepeliri, sed Babylonem, quo ipse concessurus erat, a Perdicca deferri curasse: ibique funus inaudito antehac exemplo duodecim talentum milibus locavisse. Per universum certe imperium lugeri eum jussit: et ne memoria ejus in exercitu exolesceret, equitibus, quis praefuerat, nullum praefecit ducem, sed Hephaestionis alam appellari voluit, et quae ille signa instituisset, ea non immutari. Funebria certamina ludosque, quales nunquam editi fuissent, meditatus, tria artificum milia coëgit: qui non multo post in ipsius exequiis certasse feruntur. Nec amici tam effuso affectu ad conciliandam ejus gratiam segniter usi, certatim repperere, per quae memoria defuncti clarior honoratiorque fieret. Igitur Eumenes, cum se ob simultatem cum Hephaestione regis indignationem incurrisse sensisset, multis auctor fuit, seque et arma sua Hephaestioni consecrandi, pecuniasque ad cohonestandum funus large contulit. Hoc exemplum imitati sunt ceteri: eoque mox processit assentationem impudentia, ut regi maerore et desiderio defuncti insanienti persuasum tandem fuerit, deum esse Hephaes-

tionem. Quo quidem tempore ex copiarum ducibus Agathocles Samius ad extremum periculi venit, quod illius tumulum praeteriens illacrimasse visus esset. Ac nisi Perdiccas, venanti sibi Hephaestionem apparuisse ementitus, per deos omnes ipsumque Hephaestionem deierasset, ex ipso se cognovisse, Agathoclem non ut mortuum, et vanae divinitatis titulis frustra ornatum flevisse, verum ob memoriam pristinae sodalitatis lacrimas non tenuisse, vir, fortis et de rege bene meritus pietatis in amicum graves poenas innoxio capite pependisset.

Ceterum ut paulisper a luctu avocaret animum, in Cossaeorum gentem expeditionem suscepit. Juga Mediae vicina Cossaei tenent, asperum et acre genus, et praedando vitam tolerare solitum. Ab his Persarum reges annuo tributo pacem redimere consueverant, ne in subjecta decurrentes infestam latrociniis regionem facerent. Nam vim temptantes Persas facile reppulerant, asperitate locorum defensi, in quae se recipiebant, quotiens armis superabantur. Iidem muneribus quotannis placabantur, ut regi Ecbatanis, ubi aestiva solebat agere, Babylonem remigranti tutus per ea loca transitus esset. Hos igitur Alexander bipartito agmine aggressus, intra quadraginta dies perdomuit. Nam ab ipso rege et Ptolemaeo, qui partem exercitus ducebat, saepe caesi, ut captivos suos reciperent, permisere se victori. Ille validas urbes opportunis locis extrui jussit, ne abducto exercitu fera gens obedientiam exueret. Motis inde castris, ut militem expeditione recenti fessum reficeret, lento agmine Babylonem procedebat. Jamque vix triginta ab urbe stadiis aberat, cum Nearchus occurrit, quem per Oceanum et Euphratis ostia Babylonem praemiserat: orabatque, ne fatalem sibi urbem vellet ingredi. Compertum id sibi ex Chaldaeis, qui multis jam praedictionum eventibus artis suae certitudinem abunde probavissent. Rex, fama eorum hominum constantique asseveratione motus, dimissis in urbem amicorum plerisque, alia via praeter Babylonem ducit, ac ducentis inde stadiis stativa locat. Sed ab Anaxarcho philosopho edoctus, contemptis Chaldaeorum monitis, quorum disciplinam inanem aut supervacuam arbitrabatur, urbem intrat. Legationes eo ex universo ferme orbe confluxerant. Quibus per complures dies studiose auditis, deinceps ad Hephaestionis exequias adjecit animum. Quae summo omnium studio ita celebratae sunt, ut nullius ad id tempus regis feralia magnitudine sumptuum apparatusque celebritate non vicerint. Post haec cupido incessit regi per Pallacopam amnem ad Arabum confinia navigandi; quo delatus, urbi condendae commoda sede reperta, Graecorum aetate aut vulneribus invalidos, et si qui sponte remanserant, ibi collocat. Quibus ex sententia perfectis, jam futuri securus Chaldaeos irridebat, quod Babylonem non ingressus tantum esset incolumis, verum etiam excessisset. Enimvero revertenti per paludes, quas Euphrates in Pallacopam effusus efficit, foedum omen oblatum est. Quippe rami desuper impendentes detractum capiti regio diadema projecerunt in fluctus. Cum deinde alia super alia prodigiosa et minacia nun-

tiarentur, procurandis iis Graeco simul barbaroque ritu continua sacra facta sunt. Neque tamen expiari praeterquam morte regis potuere. Qui cum Nearchum excepisset convivio, jamque cubitum iturus esset, Medii Larissaei obnixis precibus dedit, ut ad eum comissatum veniret. Ubi postquam tota nocte perpotasset, male habere coepit. Ingravescens deinde morbus adeo omnes vires intra sextum diem exhausit, ut ne vocis quidem potestas esset. Interea milites, sollicitudine desiderioque ejus anxii, quaquam obtestantibus ducibus, ne valetudinem, regis onerarent, expresserunt, ut in conspectum ejus admitterentur.

14. Intuentibus lacrimae obortae praebuere speciem jam non regem, sed funus ejus visentis exercitus. Maeror tamen circumstantium lectum eminebat: quos ut rex adspexit, Invenietis, inquit, cum excessero, dignum talibus viris regem?[1] Incredibile dictu audituque, in eodem habitu corporis, in quem se composuerat, cum admissurus milites esset, durasse, donec a toto exercitu illud ultimum persalutatus est: dimissoque vulgo, velut omni vitae debito liberatus, fatigata membra rejecit. Propiusque adire jussis amicis (nam et vox deficere jam coeperat), detractum anulum digito, Perdiccae tradidit, adjectis mandatis, ut corpus suum ad Hammonem ferri juberent. Quaerentibus his, cui relinqueret regnum? respondit, ei, qui esset optimus; ceterum providere jam se, ob id certamen[2] magnos funebres ludos parari sibi. Rursus Perdicca interrogante, quando coelestes honores haberi sibi vellet? dixit, tum velle, cum ipsi felices essent. Suprema haec vox fuit regis, et paulo post extinguitur.[3]

15. Ac primo ploratu lamentisque et planctibus[4] tota regia personabat: mox velut in vasta solitudine omnia tristi silentio muta torpebant, ad cogitationes, quid deinde futurum esset, dolore converso. Nobiles pueri custodiae corporis ejus assueti nec doloris magnitudinem capere, nec se ipsos intra vestibulum regiae tenere potuerunt: vagique et furentibus similes totam urbem luctu ac maerore compleverant,[5] nullis questibus omissis, quos in tali casu dolor suggerit. Ergo qui

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[1] 'Will you find a king?' Equivalent to *Num invenietis ;* for the sense is, 'I do not think that you will find,' &c.. The interrogative particle, however, may be omitted when the tone given to the sentence expresses the proper feeling, astonishment or doubt.

[2] Namely, the dispute who was the best.

[3] June 11, 323 B.C.

[4] 'With weeping and wailing, and the wildest expressions of grief:' *planctus* is 'beating upon the breast in sign of sorrow.'

[5] Equivalent to *compleverunt*, but implying rapidity.

extra regiam astiterant Macedones pariter barbarique concurrunt, nec poterant victi a victoribus in communi dolore discerni. Persae justissimum ac mitissimum dominum, Macedones optimum ac fortissimum regem invocantes, certamen quoddam maeroris edebant. Nec maestorum solum, sed etiam indignantium voces exaudiebantur, tam viridem et in flore aetatis fortunaeque invidia deum ereptum esse rebus humanis. Vigor ejus et vultus educentis in proelium milites, obsidentis urbes, evadentis in muros, fortes viros pro contione donantis occurrebant oculis. Tum Macedones divinos honores negasse ei poenitebat, impiosque et ingratos fuisse se confitebantur, quod aures ejus debita appellatione fraudassent.

16. Et cum diu nunc in veneratione, nunc in desiderio regis haesissent,[1] in ipsos versa miseratio est. Macedonia profecti ultra Euphraten in mediis hostibus novum imperium aspernantibus destitutos se esse cernebant; sine certo regis herede publicas vires ad se quemque tracturum. Bella deinde civilia, quae secuta sunt, mentibus augurabantur: iterum, non de regno Asiae, sed de rege, ipsis sanguinem esse fundendum; novis vulneribus veteres rumpendas cicatrices; senes, debiles, modo petita missione a justo rege,[2] nunc morituros pro potentia forsitan satellitis alicujus ignobilis. Has cogitationes volventibus nox supervenit, terroremque auxit. Milites in armis vigilabant; Babylonii alius e muris, alius culmine sui quisque tecti[3] prospectabant, quasi certiora visuri. Nec quisquam lumina audebat accendere. Et quia oculorum cessabat usus, fremitus vocesque auribus captabant, ac plerumque vano metu territi per obscuras semitas, alius alii occursantes, invicem suspecti ac solliciti ferebantur. Persae, comis suo more detonsis, in lugubri veste, cum conjugibus ac liberis, non ut victorem et modo hostem, sed ut gentis suae justissimum regem vero desiderio lugebant. Assueti sub rege vivere, non alium, qui imperaret ipsis, digniorem fuisse confitebantur.

17. Nec muris urbis luctus continebatur, sed proximam regionem ab ea, deinde magnam partem Asiae cis Euphraten tanti mali fama pervaserat. Ad Darei quoque matrem celeriter perlata est. Abscisa ergo veste, qua induta erat, lugu-

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[1] 'When they had been long absorbed in.'

[2] 'From their regular (lawful, recognised) king.'

[3] 'Some from the walls, others from the roofs of their houses.' The repetition of the preposition is not necessary (Zumpt, § 745). The walls here spoken of are those enclosing the single farms.

brem sumpsit, laceratisque crinibus humi corpus abjecit. Assidebat ei altera ex neptibus, nuper amissum Hephaestionem, cui nupserat, lugens,[1] propriasque causas doloris in communi maestitia retractabat. Sed omnium suorum mala Sisygambis una capiebat.[2] Illa suam, illa[3] neptium vicem flebat. Recens dolor etiam praeterita revocaverat. Crederes modo amissum Dareum, et pariter miserae duorum filiorum exequias esse ducendas. Flebat simul mortuos vivosque. Quem enim puellarum[4] acturum esse curam? quem alium futurum Alexundrum? iterum esse se captas, iterum excidisse regno. Qui mortuo Dareo ipsas tueretur, repperisse, qui post Alexandrum respiceret,[5] utique non reperturas. Subibat inter haec animum, octoginta fratres suos eodem die ab Ocho saevissimo regum trucidatos, adjectumque stragi tot filiorum patrem; e septem liberis, quos genuisset ipsa, unum[6] superesse; ipsum Dareum floruisse paulisper, ut crudelius posset extingui. Ad ultimum dolori succubuit, obvolutoque capite accidentes genibus suis neptem nepotemque aversata, cibo pariter abstinuit et luce. Quinto, postquam mori statuerat, die extincta est. Magnum profecto Alexandro indulgentiae in eam justitiaeque in omnes captivos documentum est mors hujus: quae cum sustinuisset post Dareum vivere, Alexandro esse superstes erubuit.

18. Et hercule, juste aestimantibus regem liquet, bona naturae ejus fuisse, vitia vel fortunae, vel aetatis. Vis incredibilis animi; laboris patientia propemodum nimia; fortitudo non inter reges modo excellens, sed inter illos quoque, quorum haec sola virtus fuit; liberalitas saepe majora tribuentis,[7] quam a diis petuntur; clementia in devictos, tot regna aut reddita, quibus ea dempserat bello, aut dono data;[8]

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[1] When Alexander married the elder daughter of Darius, he arranged that Hephaestion should take Drypetis, the younger, for his wife. But Hephaestion died a year before Alexander at Ecbatana, a fact which must have been related in that part of this book preceding the 14th chapter, and which is lost.

[2] 'She felt personally.'

[3] *Illa* is here emphatic for *ea*.

[4] Young married women or widows are sometimes called *puellae*, simply to indicate that they are *young* women.

[5] *Respicere*, 'to take under one's protection;' equivalent to *tueri*.

[6] That is Oxathres, whom Alexander had made one of his own suite. See vii. 24.

[7] We might expect *tribuens*, but the genitive is likewise appropriate.

[8] The participle here contains the principal notion; namely, the

mortis, cujus metus ceteros exanimat, perpetua contemptio; gloriae laudisque ut[1] justo major cupido, ita ut juveni et in tantis admittenda rebus; jam pietas erga parentes, quorum Olympiada immortalitati consecrare decreverat, Philippum ultus erat; jam in omnes fere amicos benignitas, erga milites benivolentia; consilium par magnitudini animi, et quantam vix poterat aetas ejus capere, sollertia, modus immodicarum cupiditatum, Veneris intra naturale desiderium usus, nec ulla nisi ex permisso voluptas, ingentes profecto dotes erant. Illa fortunae: diis aequare se, et coelestes honores accersere,[2] et talia suadentibus oraculis credere, et dedignantibus venerari ipsum vehementius quam par esset[3] irasci; in externum habitum mutare corporis cultum, imitari divictarum gentium mores, quos ante victoriam spreverat. Nam iracundiam et cupidinem vini sicuti juventa irritaverat, ita senectus mitigare potuisset. Fatendum est tamen, cum plurimum virtuti debuerit, plus debuisse fortunae, quam solus omnium mortalium in potestate habuit. Quotiens illum a morte revocavit? quotiens temere in pericula vectum perpetua felicitate protexit? Vitae quoque finem eundem illi, quem gloriae statuit. Expectavere eum fata, dum Oriente perdomito, aditoque Oceano, quicquid mortalitas capiebat impleret.[4] Huic regi ducique successor quaerebatur: sed major moles erat, quam ut unus subire eam posset. Itaque nomen quoque ejus et fama rerum in totum propemodum orbem reges ac regna diffudit, clarissimique sunt habiti, qui etiam minimae parti tantae fortunae adhaeserunt.[5]

19. Ceterum Babylone (inde enim devertit oratio) corporis ejus custodes in regiam principes amicorum ducesque copiarum advocavere. Secuta est militum turba, cupientium scire, in quem Alexandri fortuna esset transitura. Multi duces frequentia militum exclusi regiam intrare non poterant, cum praeco, exceptis, qui nominatim citarentur, adire

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restoring so many kingdoms to those from whom he had taken them in war.

[1] That is, 'although too great, yet to be conceded to him, considering that he was a young man, and in such extraordinary circumstances.'

[2] 'Bring about,' 'assume,' instead of hoping for them after his death.

[3] Respecting the subjunctive, see *Gram.* § 357, note 2.

[4] 'Death waited until he should accomplish all that which his mortal nature was capable of.'

[5] 'Who joined even the smallest part of such great good-luck;' that is, who acquired even a small part of that immense empire.

prohiberet.[1] Sed precarium spernebatur imperium. Ac primum ejulatus ingens ploratusque renovatus est: deinde futuri expectatio inhibitis lacrimis silentium fecit. Tum Perdicca, regia sella in conspectum vulgi data, in qua diadema vestisque Alexandri cum armis erant, anulum sibi pridie traditum a rege in eadem sede posuit; quorum aspectu rursus obortae omnibus lacrimae integravere luctum. Et Perdicca, Ego quidem, inquit, anulum, quo ille regni atque imperii vires obsignare erat solitus, traditum ab ipso mihi, reddo vobis. Ceterum quamquam nulla clades huic, qua affecti sumus, par ab iratis diis excogitari potest, tamen magnitudinem rerum, quas egit, intuentibus credere licet, tantum virum deos accommodasse rebus humanis, quarum sorte completa, cito repeterent eum suae stirpi.[2] Proinde quoniam nihil aliud ex eo superest, quam quod semper ab immortalitate seducitur, corpori hominique quam primum justa solvamus, haud obliti, in qua urbe, inter quos simus, quali praeside ac rege spoliati. Tractandum est, commilitones, cogitandumque, ut victoriam partam inter hos, de quibus parta est, obtinere possimus. Capite opus est. Hocine uno, an pluribus,[3] in vestra potestate est. Illud scire debetis, militarem sine duce turbam corpus esse sine spiritu. Sextus mensis est, ex quo Roxane praegnans est: optamus, ut marem enitatur, cujus regnum diis approbantibus futurum, quandoque adoleverit.[4] Interim a quibus regi velitis destinate. Haec Perdicca.

20. Tum Nearchus, Alexandri modo sanguinem ac stirpem regiae majestati convenire, neminem, ait, posse mirari. Ceterum expectari nondum ortum regem, et qui jam sit praeteriri, nec animis Macedonum convenire, nec tempori rerum. Esse e Barsine[5] filium regis: huic diadema dandum. Nulli placebat oratio. Itaque suo more hastis scuta quatientes[6] obstrepere perseverabant. Jamque prope ad seditionem pervenerant, Nearcho pervicacius tuente sententiam. Tum Ptolemaus, Digna prorsus est soboles, inquit, quae

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[1] 'When (that is, 'although') the herald called up those concerned by name, and refused access to the others.'

[2] 'That they might claim him for their own race.'

[3] *Pluribus* refers to the preceding *capite:* 'whether this head is to be one or more (heads), is in your power.'

[4] *Quandoque* for *quandocunque*. See Zumpt, § 288.

[5] Barsine was the widow of the Persian commander Memnon of Rhodes, and a daughter of the Persian Artabazus. See iii. 35.

[6] Equivalent to *concutientes, ferientes,* 'to shake a thing by striking at it.'

Macedonum imperet genti, Roxanes vel Barsinae filius! cujus nomen quoque Europam dicere pigebit, majore ex parte captivi. Est cur Persas vicerimus, ut stirpi eorum serviamus![1] quod justi illi reges Dareus et Xerxes tot milium agminibus tantisque classibus nequicquam petiverunt. Mea sententia haec est, ut sede Alexandri in regia posita, qui consiliis ejus adhibebantur, coëant, quotiens in commune consulto[2] opus fuerit: eoque, quod major pars eorem decreverit, stetur,[3] duces praefectique copiarum his pareant. Ptolemaeo quidam, pauciores Perdiccae assentiebantur. Tum Aristonus orsus est dicere, Alexandrum consultum, cui relinqueret regnum, voluisse optimum deligi. Judicatum autem ab ipso optimum Perdiccam, cui anulum tradidisset. Neque enim unum eum assedisse morienti, sed circumferentem oculos ex turba amicorum delegisse, cui traderet. Placere igitur, summam imperii ad Perdiccam deferri. Nec dubitavere, quin vera censeret. Itaque universi procedere in medium Perdiccam et regis anulum tollere jubebant. Haerebat inter cupiditatem pudoremque, et quo modestius quod expectabat appeteret, pervicacius ablaturos esse credebat.[4] Itaque cunctatus, diuque quid ageret incertus, ad ultimum tamen recessit, et post eos, qui sederant proximi, constitit.

21. At Meleager, unus e ducibus, confirmato animo, quem Perdiccae cunctatio erexerat, Nec dii sierint,[5] inquit, ut Alexandri fortuna tantique regni fastigium in istos humeros, ruat: homines certe non ferent. Nihil dico de nobilioribus[6] quam hic est, sed de viris tantum, quibus invitis nihil perpeti necesse est.[7] Nec vero interest, Roxanes filium, quandoque genitus erit, an Perdiccam regem habeatis, cum iste sub tutelae specie regnum occupaturus sit. Itaque nemo ei rex placet, nisi qui nondum natus est, et in tanta omnium festina-

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[1] Ironical: 'A fine reason for our having conquered the Persians, to become the subjects of one of their descendants!' See Zumpt, § 562.

[2] See *Gram.* § 405, note 5.

[3] For this passive, see *Gram.* § 125.

[4] The thought that the more modestly he strove after that which he expected (which was to be offered to him), the more urgently would they press it upon him. He alludes to the kingly dignity, which Perdiccas was longing for, though he wanted to avoid the appearance.

[5] A wish: 'May the gods not permit!'

[6] Namely, those of Perdiccas. The expression implies somewhat of contempt. See Zumpt, § 701.

[7] 'Who are not under the necessity of putting up with anything that is done against their will.'

tione, non justa modo, sed etiam necessaria, exactos menses[1] solus expectat, et jam divinat marem esse conceptum; quem vos dubitetis paratum esse vel subdere.[2] Si mediusfidius Alexander hunc nobis regem pro se reliquisset, id solum ex his, quae imperasset, non faciendum esse censerem. Quin igitur ad diripiendos thesauros discurritis?[3] harum enim opum regiarum utique populus est heres. Haec elocutus, per medios armatos erupit, et qui abeunti viam dederant, ipsum ad pronuntiatum praedam sequebantur.

22. Jamque armatorum circa Meleagrum frequens globus erat, in seditionem ac discordiam versa contione; cum quidam plerisque Macedonum ignotus ex infima plebe, Quid opus est, inquit, armis civilique bello, habentibus regem, quem quaeritis? Arrhidaeus, Philippo genitus,[4] Alexandri paulo ante regis frater, sacrorum caerimoniarumque consors modo, nunc solus heres, praeteritur a vobis. Quo merito suo? quidve fecit, cur etiam gentium communi jure fraudetur? Si Alexandro similem quaeritis, nunquam reperietis; si proximum, hic solus est. His auditis contio primo silentium velut jussa habuit: conclamant deinde pariter, Arrhidaeum vocandum esse, mortemque meritos, qui contionem sine eo habuissent. Tum Pithon plenus lacrimarum orditur dicere, nunc vel maxime miserabilem esse Alexandrum, qui tam bonorum civium militumque fructu et praesentia fraudatus esset. Nomen enim memoriamque regis sui tantum intuentes, ad cetera caligare eos.[5] Haud ambigue in juvenem, cui regnum destinabatur, impensa probra magis ipsi odium, quam Arrhidaeo contemptum attulerunt: quippe dum miserentur, etiam favere coeperunt. Igitur non alium regem se, quam eum, qui ad hanc spem genitus esset, passuros, pertinaci acclamatione declarant, vocarique Arrhidaeum jubent. Quem Meleager infestus invisusque[6] Perdiccae strenue perducit in regiam; et milites Philippum consalutatum regem appellant.

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[1] 'The months of her pregnancy through which she had passed.'

[2] 'Can you doubt that he is ready even to substitute a child?' Respecting the subjunctive, see *Gram.* § 347; compare Zumpt, § 803.

[3] For *quin*, see *Gram.* § 352, note 4.

[4] By a dancer of the name of Philinna of Larissa in Thessaly. He had hitherto always been considered at the court of Alexander as an idiot. This was the reason, much more even than his illegitimate origin, why none of the generals, who must have known him, voted for him.

[5] *Caligare*, 'to be obscure,' is used in the first place of weak eyes which do not see clearly or distinctly; and secondly also of men, 'to be blind' (*caecutire*), both in a physical and tropical sense.

[6] *Invisus* is both 'ill-disposed' and 'hated.'

23. Ceterum haec vulgi erat vox, principum alia sententia. E quibus Pithon consilium Perdiccae exequi coepit, tutoresque destinat filio ex Roxane futuro Perdiccam et Leonnatum, stirpe regia genitos. Adjecit, ut in Europa Craterus et Antipater res administrarent. Tum jusjurandum a singulis exactum, futuros in potestate regis geniti Alexandro. Meleager, haud injuria metu supplicii territus, cum suis secesserat. Rursus Philippum trahens secum irrupit regiam,[1] clamitans suffragari reipublicae de novo rege paulo ante concepto:[2] robur aetatis experirentur; modo stirpem Philippi, et filium ac fratrem regum duorum, sibimetipsis potissimum crederent. Nullum profundum mare, nullum vastum fretum et procellosum tantos ciet fluctus, quantos multitudo motus habet, utique si nova et brevi duratura libertate luxuriat. Pauci Perdiccae modo electo, plures Philippo, quem spreverant, imperium dabant. Nec velle, nec nolle quicquam diu poterant, poenitebatque modo consilii, modo poenitentiae ipsius. Ad ultimum tamen in stirpem regiam inclinavere studiis.[3] Cesserat ex contione Arrhidaeus, principum auctoritate conterritus; et abeunte illo conticuerat magis, quam languerat, militaris favor. Itaque revocatus vestem[4] fratris, eam ipsam, quae in sella posita fuerat, induitur. Et Meleager thorace sumpto capit arma, novi regis satelles. Sequitur phalanx, hastis clipeos quatiens, expletura se sanguine illorum, qui affectaverant nihil ad ipsos pertinens regnum. In eadem domo familiaque imperii vires remansuras esse gaudebant; hereditarium imperium stirpem regiam vindicaturam;[5] assuetos esse nomen ipsum colere venerarique, nec quemquam id capere, nisi genitum ut regnaret.

24. Igitur Perdicca territus, conclave, in quo Alexandri corpus jacebat, obserari jubet. Sexcenti cum ipso erant, spectatae virtutis: Ptolemaeus quoque se adjunxerat ei, puerorumque regia cohors. Ceterum haud difficulter a tot milibus armatorum claustra perfracta sunt. Et rex quoque

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[1] We find both *irrumpere regiam* and *irrumpere in regiam*, 'to break into the palace.'

[2] 'He agreed with the state in regard to the new king who had been only just conceived (born),' is said with irony or contempt.

[3] 'Their inclination turned towards the king's son;' towards Philip Arrhidaeus, in opposition to Perdiccas, who had been elected regent.

[4] See *Gram.* § 259, 1.

[5] That a descendant of the king's would maintain the hereditary government, or the hereditary right to the succession.

irruperat stipatus satellitum turba, quorum princeps Meleager. Iratusque Perdicca hos, qui Alexandri corpus tueri vellent, sevocat; sed qui irruperant eminus tela in ipsum jaciebant. Multisque vulneratis, tandem seniores demptis galeis, quo facilius nosci possent, precari[1] qui cum Perdicca erant coepere, ut absisterent bello, regique et pluribus cederent. Primus Perdicca arma deposuit; ceterique idem fecere. Meleagro deinde suadente, ne a corpore Alexandri discederent, insidiis locum quaeri rati, diversa regiae parte ad Euphraten fugam intendunt.[2] Equitatus, qui ex nobilissimis juvenum constabat, Perdiccam et Leonnatum frequens sequebatur; placebatque excedere urbe, et tendere in campis. Sed Perdicca ne pedites quidem secuturos ipsum desperabat: itaque ne abducendo equites[3] abrupisse a cetero exercitu videretur, in urbe subsistit.

25. At Meleager regem monere non destitit, jus imperii[4] Perdiccae morte sanciendum esse: ni occupetur impotens[5] animus, res novaturum: meminisse eum quid de rege meruisset,[6] neminem autem ei satis fidum esse, quem metuat. Rex patiebatur magis, quam assentiebatur. Itaque Meleager silentium pro imperio habuit, misitque regis nomine, qui Perdiccam accerserent. Iisdem mandatum, ut occiderent, si venire dubitaret. Perdicca, nuntiato satellitum adventu, sexdecim omnino pueris regiae cohortis comitatus[7] in limine domus suae constitit, castigatosque, et Meleagri mancipia identidem appellans, sic animi vultusque constantia terruit, ut vix mentis compotes fugerent. Perdicca pueros equos jussit conscendere, et cum paucis amicorum ad Leonnatum pervenit, jam firmiore praesidio vim propulsaturus, si quis inferret. Postera[8] die indigna res Macedonibus videbatur, Perdiccam ad mortis periculum adductum, et Meleagri temeritatem armis ultum ire decreverant. Atque ille seditione provisa, cum regem adisset, interrogare eum coepit, an Perdiccam comprehendi ipse jussisset. Ille Meleagri instinctu

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[1] Supply *eos*.

[2] 'They direct their flight from the opposite or back part of the palace towards the Euphrates.'

[3] This accusative belongs to both verbs between which it stands.

[4] 'The right of his government;' that is, his right as king.

[5] *Impotens* here means 'ambitious,' inasmuch as ambition makes men blind in regard to the real extent of their own power.

[6] Namely, *male meruit*, *poenam mortemque meruit*.

[7] 'Accompanied.' This participle of the deponent *comitor* has almost always a passive meaning. See *Gram.* § 139, note 2.

[8] Curtius uses *postero die* much more frequently.

se jussisse respondit: ceterum non debere tumultuari eos, Perdiccam enim vivere.

26. Igitur contione dimissa Meleager, equitum maxime defectione perterritus, inopsque consilii (quippe in ipsum periculum reciderat, quod inimico paulo ante intenderat), triduum fere consumpsit incerta consilia volvendo. Et pristina quidem regiae species manebat: nam et legati gentium regem adibant, et copiarum duces aderant, et vestibulum satellites armatique compleverant. Sed ingens sua sponte maestitia ultimae desperationis index erat, suspectique invicem non adire propius, non colloqui audebant, secretas cogitationes intra se quoque volvente, et ex comparatione regis novi desiderium excitabatur amissi. Ubi ille esset, cujus imperium, cujus auspicium[1] secuti erant, requirebant. Destitutos se inter infestas indomitasque gentes, expetituras tot suarum cladium poenas, quandocunque oblata esset occasio. His cogitationibus animos exedebant,[2] cum annuntiatur, equites, qui sub Perdicca essent, occupatis circa Babylona campis, frumentum, quod in urbem vehebatur, retinuisse. Itaque inopia primum, deinde fames esse coepit; et qui in urbe erant aut reconciliandam cum Perdicca gratiam,[3] aut armis certandum esse censebant. Forte ita acciderat, ut qui in agris erant, populationem villarum vicorumque veriti, confugerent in urbem, oppidani, cum ipsos[4] alimenta deficerent, urbe excederent, et utrique generi tutior aliena sedes, quam sua, videretur.

27. Quorum consternationem Macedones veriti, in regiam coëunt, quaeque ipsorum sententia esset, exponunt. Placebat autem legatos ad equites mitti de finienda discordia armisque ponendis. Igitur a rege legatur Pasas Thessalus, et Amissus Megalopolitanus, et Perilaus: qui cum mandata regis edidissent, non aliter posituros arma equites, quam si rex discordiae auctores dedidisset, tulere responsum. His renuntiatis sua sponte arma milites capiunt.[5] Quorum tumultu e regia Philippus excitus, Nihil, inquit, seditione est opus. Nam inter se certantium praemia qui quieverint occupabunt. Simul me-

[1] 'Command and guidance.' According to Roman notions, *auspicium* is the right to consult the gods by augury—a right which was conferred upon the commander-in-chief by the state.

[2] 'They consumed their souls;' a fine expression for 'they tormented themselves.'

[3] *Reconciliare gratiam*, 'to restore friendly relations.' We also find *reconciliare homines*, 'to reconcile men.'

[4] *Ipsos*, the same as *eos*.

[5] Namely, in order to march out and attack the insolent knights.

mentote rem esse cum civibus, quibus spem gratiae cito abrumpere ad bellum civile properantium est.[1] Altera legatione an mitigari possint, experiamur; et credo, nondum regis corpore sepulto, ad praestanda ei justa[2] omnes esse coituros. Quod ad me attinet, reddere hoc imperium malo, quam exercere civium sanguine; et si nulla alia concordiae spes est, oro quaesoque, eligite potiorem. Obortis deinde lacrimis, diadema detrahit capiti, dextram, qua id tenebat, protendens, ut si quis se digniorem profiteretur, acciperet. Ingentem spem indolis, ante eum diem fratris claritate suppressam, ea moderata excitavit oratio. Itaque cuncti instare coeperunt, ut, quae agitasset, exequi vellet. Eosdem rursus legat petituros, ut Meleagrum tertium ducem acciperent.[3] Haud aegre id impetratum est. Nam et abducere Meleagrum Perdicca a rege cupiebat, et unum duobus imparem futurum esse censebat. Igitur Meleagro cum phalange obviam egresso, Perdicca equitum turmas antecedens occurrit. Utrumque agmen, mutua salutatione facta, coit, in perpetuum, ut arbitrabantur, concordia et pace firmata.

28. Sed jam fatis admovebantur Macedonum genti bella civilia. Nam et insociabile est regnum, et a pluribus expetebatur. Primum ergo collegere vires,[4] deinde disperserunt: et cum pluribus corpus, quam capiebat, onerassent, cetera membra deficere coeperunt: quodque imperium sub uno stare potuisset, dum a pluribus sustinetur, ruit. Proinde jure meritoque populus Romanus salutem se principi suo[5] debere profitetur, qui noctis, quam paene supremam habuimus, novum sidus illuxit.[6] Hujus hercule, non solis ortus, lucem caliganti reddidit mundo, cum sine suo capite discordia membra trepidarent. Quot ille tum extinxit faces! quot condidit gladios! quantam tempestatem subita serenitate discussit! Non ergo revirescit solum, sed etiam floret

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[1] 'Is the conduct of those who push on to civil war.'

[2] 'That which is due.' *Justa*, without any further addition, is used especially of *justa funebria*, 'the ceremonies customary at a funeral.'

[3] Besides Perdiccas and Leonnatus, who had been recognised by the knights as guardians of the expected son of Alexander.

[4] They (the Macedonians) gathered their strength (under Philip and Alexander's government).

[5] Augustus is here alluded to, for he was the first in Roman history to whom the honourable title of *Princeps* was given for life.

[6] A figurative expression: 'he rose beaming as a new star of that night (or in that night), which has been almost our last.' The author alludes to the years of discord from the murder of Caesar down to the establishment of the sovereignty of Augustus.

imperium. Absit modo invidia, excipiet hujus saeculi tempora ejusdem domus utinam perpetua, certe diuturna posteritas.[1] Ceterum, ut ad ordinem, a quo me contemplatio publicae felicitatis averterat, redeam, Perdicca unicam spem salutis suae in Meleagri morte deponebat: vanum eundem et infidum, celeriterque res novaturum, et sibi maxime infestum occupandum esse. Sed alta dissimulatione consilium premebat, ut opprimeret incautum. Ergo clam quosdam ex copiis, quibus praeerat, subornavit, ut, quasi ignoraret ipse, conquererentur palam, Meleagrum aequatum esse Perdiccae. Quorum sermone Meleager ad se relato, furens ira Perdiccae quae comperisset exponit. Ille, velut nova re exterritus, admirari, queri, dolentisque speciem ostentare ei coepit; ad ultimum convenit, ut comprehenderentur tam seditiosae vocis auctores. Agit Meleager gratias, amplexusque Perdiccam fidem ejus in se ac benivolentiam collaudat. Tum communi consilio rationem opprimendi noxios ineunt. Placet exercitum patrio more lustrari.[2] Et probabilis causa videbatur praeterita discordia. Macedonum reges ita lustrare soliti erant milites, ut discissae canis viscera ultimo in campo, in quem deduceretur exercitus, ab utraque abjicerent parte, intra id spatium armati omnes starent, hinc equites, illinc phalanx.

29. Itaque eo die, quem huic sacro destinaverant, rex cum equitibus elephantisque constiterat contra pedites,[3] quis Meleager praeerat. Jam equestre agmen movebatur, et pedites subita formidine ob recentem discordiam, haud sane pacati quicquam expectantes, parumper addubitavere, an[4] in urbem subducerent copias: quippe pro equitibus planities erat. Ceterum veriti, ne temere commilitonum fidem damnarent, substitere, praeparatis ad dimicandum animis, si quis vim inferret. Jam agmina coibant, parvumque intervallum erat, quod aciem utramque divideret. Itaque rex cum una ala obequitare peditibus coepit,[5] discordiae auctores, quos tueri ipse debebat, instinctu Perdiccae ad supplicia deposcens: minabaturque omnes turmas cum elephantis inducturum se

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[1] 'Let but envy be far away, then the descendants of the same house (the house of the Julii) will take up the times of this century;' that is, take up and continue them.

[2] 'That the army should be purified;' a religious solemnity, accompanied of course by a review; whence a *lustratio exercitus* is often nothing else but a review.

[3] 'Opposite to the infantry.'

[4] 'They meditated for a while whether they should not,' &c.

[5] 'He rode along the lines of the infantry.'

in recusantes. Stupebant improviso malo pedites; nec plus in ipso Meleagro erat aut consilii, aut animi. Tutissimum ex praesentibus videbatur, expectare potius, quam movere[1] fortunam. Tum Perdicca, ut torpentes et obnoxios vidit, CCC fere, qui Meleagrum erumpentem ex contione, quae prima habita est post mortem Alexandri, secuti erant, a ceteris discretos, elephantis in conspectu totius exercitus objicit; omnesque beluarum pedibus obtriti sunt, nec prohibente Philippo, nec auctore: apparebatque, id modo pro suo vindicaturum, quod approbasset eventus. Hoc bellorum civilium Macedonibus et omen et principium fuit. Meleager, sero intellecta fraude Perdiccae, tum quidem, quia ipsius corpori vis non afferebatur, in agmine quietus stetit: at mox, damnata spe salutis, cum ejus nomine, quem ipse fecerat regem, in perniciem suam abutentes videret inimicos, confugit in templum: ac ne loci quidem religione defensus, occiditur.

30. Perdicca, perducto in urbem exercitu, consilium principum virorum habuit, in quo imperium ita dividi placuit, ut rex quidem summam ejus obtineret, satrapes Ptolemaeus Aegypti et Africae gentium[2] quae in dicione erant. Laomedonti Syria cum Phoenice data est; Philotae Cilicia destinata; Lyciam cum Pamphylia et majore Phrygia obtinere jussus Antigonus; in Cariam Cassander, Menander in Lydiam missi. Phrygiam minorem Hellesponto adjunctam[3] Leonnati provinciam esse jusserunt. Cappadocia Eumeni cum Paphlagonia cessit. Praeceptum est, ut regionem eam usque ad Trapezunta defenderet, bellum cum Ariarathe[4] gereret. Solus hic detrectabat imperium. Pithon Mediam, Lysimachus Thraciam appositasque Thraciae Ponticas gentes obtinere jussi. Qui Indiae, quique Bactris et Sogdianis ceterisque aut Oceani aut Rubri maris accolis praeerant, quibus quisque finibus habuisset, imperii etiam jus obtinerent, decretum est; Perdicca ut cum rege esset, copiisque praeesset, quae regem sequebantur.[5] Credidere quidam testamento Alexandri distributas esse provincias; sed famam ejus rei,

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[1] 'To challenge,' 'to provoke.'

[2] Supply *imperium* from the preceding clause.

[3] Phrygia on the Hellespont, or Phrygia Minor (of which the ancient kingdom of Troas was a part), as distinguished from Phrygia Major in the interior of Asia Minor.

[4] King of Cappadocia.

[5] Should properly have been *sequerentur;* but that which then was to be is expressed as a reality, because it actually did take place.

quamquam ab auctoribus tradita est, vanam fuisse comperimus. Et quidem suas quisque opes, divisis imperii partibus, tuebantur: quas ipsi fundaverant, si unquam adversus immodicas cupiditates terminus staret.[1] Quippe paulo ante regis ministri, specie imperii alieni procurandi, singuli ingentia invaserant regna, sublatis certaminum causis, cum et omnes ejusdem gentis essent, et a ceteris sui quisque imperii regione discreti. Sed difficile erat eo contentos esse, quod obtulerat occasio: quippe sordent prima quaeque, cum majora sperantur. Itaque omnibus expeditius videbatur augere regna, quam fuisset accipere.

31. Septimus dies erat, ex quo corpus regis jacebat in solio, curis omnium ad formandum publicum statum a tam sollemni munere aversis. Et non aliis quam Mesopotamiae regione fervidior aestus existit,[2] adeo ut pleraque animalia, quae in nudo solo deprehendit, extinguat; tantus est vapor solis et coeli, quo cuncta velut igne torrentur. Fontes aquarum et rari sunt, et incolentium fraude celantur; ipsis usus patet, ignotus est advenis. Ut tandem curare corpus exanimum amicis vacavit, nulla tabe, ne minimo quidem livore corruptum videre qui intraverant. Vigor quoque, qui constat ex spiritu, non destituerat vultum. Itaque Aegyptii Chaldaeique, jussi corpus suo more curare, primo non sunt ausi admovere velut spiranti manus: deinde precati, ut jus fasque esset mortalibus attrectare eum, purgavere corpus, repletumque est odoribus aureum solium, et capiti adjecta fortunae ejus insignia.[3] Veneno necatum esse credidere plerique; filium Antipatri inter ministros, Jollam nomine, patris jussu dedisse. Saepe certe audita erat vox Alexandri, Antipatrum regium affectare fastigium, majoremque esse praefecti opibus, ac titulo Spartanae victoriae inflatum, omnia a se data asserentem sibi.[4] Credebant etiam, Craterum cum veterum militum manu ad interficiendum eum missum. Vim autem veneni, quod in Macedonia gignitur, talem esse constat, ut

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[1] Every one now maintained his own power; they had established it through themselves, not by Alexander's will, if ever there should be fixed a limit against immoderate desires. 'They had established it;' that is, this much had been done, and it would have continued, if. Respecting this indicative, see Zumpt, § 519, 6.

[2] 'The heat does not become more burning in other countries than in Mesopotamia;' that is, the heat is particularly burning in Mesopotamia, or rises to quite an unusual height.

[3] 'Placed on his head, as the sign of his rank (the royal dignity);' namely, a golden diadem.

[4] *Sibi asserere*, 'to appropriate to one's self.'

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